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I

SOUND AND MEANING

1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUND & MEANING
   (i) Relationship.
   (ii) Various Theories.
   (iii) The Actual Existence of Sound-symbolism.
   (iv) Warning.

1. i. Relationship.

"Throughout the whole history of the human race," writes Prof. Postgate, "there have been no questions which have caused more heart-searchings, tumults, and devastations than the questions of the correspondence of words to facts." Meaning has been defined by a vast majority of philosophers, Indians as well as Europeans, in terms of relation.* There is general agreement among

*Patanjali, Bhartrhari, Venkata, Vishwanath, Nageśa, Russell, Palmer, Stern and others.

See Ogden and Richards: *The Meaning of Meaning*; and Dr. Siddheshwar Verma's paper on "*Analysis of Meaning in Indian Semantics*" (*Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. XIII, 1926*) for detailed discussions.

scholars that there is constant relation between sound and sense.* There is no word without a meaning and no meaning without a word. A word which has no relation (**vyápára, shakti** or **vrtti**) is, of-course, meaningless. We learn the meanings of words by relating them to certain objects, ideas or actions.

1. ii. Various Theories.

There is, however, a great difference as to whether this relation is eternal or conventional. The idea that there is a natural correspondence between sound and sense, and that words acquire their form and meaning through a certain sound symbolism, has been a favourite one with Indian, Greek, Latin and even Arabian linguists. Scholars like Shákṭáyana, Farrar, Humboldt, Paget, Hilmer, Liancourt and Pincott, and many others, believe that language began as an expression of emotion. It was exclamative and not communicative. As such it was echoic, too. In echoic sounds the association with meaning was both immediate and easy. That is why first words were concrete, objective and specific. Words are, therefore, imitative in origin. Their further semantic development, of course, confuses and conceals that relationship. Abbád-bin-Sulcimán Zamírí† and some other thinkers go so far as to suggest that words themselves express meanings through their sounds.

The second view, supported by a very large number of philologists including Whitney, Tucker, Sayce, Gray, Vendryes, de Saussure and others, is that, with the exception of onomatopoeic words and a few others, the connection between sound and meaning is, in appearance, arbitrary, and that there is nothing in the sound to indicate the meaning. Sounds by themselves have no inherent connection with the objects denoted. The changeability of meaning further shows that this relationship is not eternal.

The third theory suggests that association of a sound, even of

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*Siddhe shabdártha sambandhe. (M.B.)
Shabdairuccaritaisteshám sambandhah samavasthitah.
†*Ayad* : Sukhundán-i-Páras.

an onomatopoeic sound, with an object, situation or action is accidental. Frequently repeated, it becomes regular and conventional. There are no natural words, writes Locke in Book III of his "*Essay on the Human Understanding*", no specific connection between certain sounds and certain ideas; otherwise, "there would be but one language amongst all men."

The exponents of this theory contend that if sound can suggest any meaning by itself, why have we to learn meanings of new words and why do we consult dictionaries, why do sounds differ in various languages, why has one word various meanings, why should there be homonyms, doublets and synonyms in a language and why should there be so many languages at all?

1. iii. The Actual Incidence of Sound-Symbolism.

Saussure's theory appears to be the most practicable, namely that though the relationship between sound and meaning is arbitrary, in the sense that there is no internal relation between sound and the object denoted, it is natural in the sense that it is unconsciously picked up by the speaker from the environment. The overwhelming majority of words in a language are not given a sense deliberately by a society sitting down for fixing a convention. Hence the relationship between sound and sense is partly arbitrary and partly natural.

It is, of course, absurd to maintain that all words in all languages have a signification naturally corresponding to their sounds. Yet, we cannot reject, as Jespersen suggests, any idea of sound symbolism *abeus non tollit usum*.

It is yet to be discovered what words in a particular language show arbitrary relationship and what others have a natural correspondence with the object or action. Linguists must find out in detail what domains of human thought admit of sound symbolism and what sounds are chosen for different meanings in different languages.

In this chapter we shall show how far sound and sense are related in Hindi. Though it would be hazardous to undertake any linguistic generalization at this stage, it appears that in Hindi there is a trend to prefer certain sounds when certain meanings are

intended. Only later and co-ordinated investigation would further show whether this phenomenon has a bearing on general linguistics.

1. iv. A Warning.

It may be pointed out at once that sound symbolism in all languages and at all times does not work on general principles. It has been erroneously believed by certain linguisticians, including Locke that if, to take an instance, [ch] means "to cover" and "to cut", it should show the same meaning not only in Hindi but in all languages of the world. The theory, they think, is nonsense, if it is not comprehensive enough to include the languages of the world. But they forget that all sounds are national and all ideas are national. Each nation has to form words from the stock of sounds available to it.

Examples—

The passerine bird of a black colour is called 'crow' in English, 'kraki' in Icelandish. Cf. Vedic **krkaváka,** the Krk bird, the cock, **káka** in Sanskrit, **kauá** in Hindi and **káṅ** in Punjabi. Now it is more than evident that the name is imitative of the voice of the bird. This voice has been interpreted in the national sounds of each language. The crowing of a cock may be interpreted as coo-coo-roo-koo, **kuk'ṛúṅ kaṛúṅ,** cock-a-doodle-doo, ga-ge-go-gu, ka-ke-ki-ku, Dan. kykeliky, Sw. kukeliku, G. kikeriki, Fr. coquelico and so on.

Again, the same idea which lends itself to symbolic presentation in one language may be given an arbitrary word in another language. **kasak** is an onomatopoeic word in Hindi for Eng. 'urge' which does not appear to be symbolic.

Also cf. H. **dur'duráná** and Eng. 'to frighten a dog';
H. **caṭak'ná** and Eng. 'to bloom';
Per. & H. **bul'bul** and Eng. 'Nightingale';
H. **dal'dal** and Eng. 'mud';
H. **caṭ'paṭá** and Eng. 'pungent';
H. **phátak** and Eng. 'gate';
H. **khaṭ'ká** and Eng. 'apprehension'.

Also note that Hindi has no symbolic equivalents for hotch-potch, hurly-burly, helter-skelter, etc.

A study of Bengali onomatopoeias (as in Tagore's Baṅglá Shabda Tattva) would at once suggest that Hindi has only arbitrary words for a large number of symbolic words in that language.

Moreover, all words whether arbitrary or symbolic are incomplete. An object has several aspects and it may be named after any of those aspects. The 'moon' is from √ma-, to measure, and its Skt. equivalent **candra** is from √**cand**, to shine. The horse is called **aśva** in Sanskrit as it eats much (**aśnáti**) and **ṭaṭṭú** in Prakrit on account of the sound **ṭaṭ-ṭaṭ** used to drive it. Again there is every possibility of double or triple interpretation of natural sounds, as **bhaṛak'ná, bhabak'ná, bhabbak'ná,** to burst forth; or **sisak'ná, taras'ná,** to long; or **kāl, mac'lí, ek,** vomiting.

This also explains the existence of homonymy and synonymy in all languages. Both are largely due to the mixture of languages and of meanings in a particular language. [**ch**] usually suggests covering or cutting in the signification of Hindi words containing that sound, e.g. **chál,** skin, **chánv,** shade, **chánṭ,** pruning, **ched,** hole. The same meanings are available in **cam'ṛí, sáyá, kát, morí.** But **cam'ṛí** might have been formed on account of the prettiness of the skin (cf. the meaning of [**c**] below), **sáyá** is a foreign word, **kát** is imitative of the sound and **morí** originally denoted 'a drain'. Similarly **ḍhah'ná, gir'ná, paṛ'ná** are different sounds but they are indiscriminately used to mean 'to fall'. For the nature and meaning of homonymous and synonymous words also see chapters III and IV.

Anyhow, it is absurd to suggest that the acceptance of the theory of sound symbolism would involve the universalization of the meaning of a particular word. The theory as illustrated in the following pages has great possibilities. It becomes ridiculous only when we explain the connection between sound and meaning in proper nouns, foreign words and words that have semantically developed.

The following study, however, is offered as a *tatonnement* which needs to be tried and refined by further research.

2. MEANING OF SOUNDS

(i) Sound As a Unit.
(ii) Significance of Individual Sounds.
(a) Vowels.
(b) Consonants. — Initial Aspirates — Non-Initial Aspirates — Community of Sound Sematology in NIA — Unaspirated Consonants — Nasals.
(iii) Permutations—Combinations.

As the scientists have found out atoms or electrons as the final factor of creation, so the semantician has to discover the subtle element of speech which relates to meaning. We analyse a composition into paragraphs, paragraphs into sentences, sentences into words in order to analyse meaning. Don't we need to analyse the word into sounds for the understanding of the composition of its meaning?

2. i. Sound as a Unit.

Indian Scholars have accepted the potential value of a single sound which they called infinite and absolute. Sound and Brahma are both **akṣara** (imperishable). The Ṛṣis had general faith in the meaningfulness of individual sounds. The Rgveda says that the prayers reside in the eternal sound wherein the meanings manifest themselves. They who do not know the significations of those sounds can gain nothing by the prayers.* Patanjali, the great grammarian, commentator and the writer of 'Mahábhâṣya', believes that the nucleus of speech is a sound.† He remarks that all roots are originally monophonic.‡

The Brahmanas, Upanishads and Niruktas have greatly relied on this theory for the etymologies of Vedic words. The Chándogya

*Rgveda I. 164.09.
†M.B. I. 12.
‡dhâtavah ekavarṇâh arthavanto dṛṣyante. (M.B.)

Upanishad explains the meaning of the word **satya** thus—

[**sa**] means **amrta**, immortal;
[**ta**] means **martya**, mortal;
[**ya**] means 'that which determines'.

Satya means 'that which determines the immortal and the mortal, the finite and the infinite.'

The Gopatha Brahmana gives the following meaning of the word **bharga**—

[**bha**] signifies 'one that kindles';
[**ra**] signifies 'one that pleases or gratifies';
[**ga**] signifies 'one that moves or directs'.*

The word **makha** is said to denote 'without' (for **ma**) and 'flow' (for **kha**).

The Yogashastra of Patanjali includes among 'sańyamas' of Yogas the contemplation of meanings in individual sounds and affixes which are the nuclei of all speech.

Our Sanskrit lexicons record the several meanings of almost all individual letters considered as potential words.†

Below are given the sounds and their meanings as they exist in Hindi.

2. ii. Significance of Individual Sounds.

2. ii(a). Vowels.

The principle of sound-meaning in general may be briefly stated with reference to vowels in particular. [a] is the basis of all sounds. It manifests itself in all phonemes. All vowels start with an [a] for their articulation, and consonants are defined as sounds which cannot be uttered without the help of vowels. [a] is an all-pervading sound. Hence, it means 'all', 'pervading', 'full', 'one', 'entire'; and,

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bha iti bhásayatítímáṁllokán.
ra iti raṁjayatítímáṁllokán.
ga iti gamatítímáṁllokán.

†*See* Ekákṣari koṣas, *or Monier Williams. Also compare* Tantra-Bíja-Mantras.

because in pronouncing it the mouth assumes the form of a cavity or O, it means 'zero', 'negation', 'absence' or 'void'. Compare the meanings of **adúr** (not distant), **agati** (absence of movement). It may be noted that [á] is fuller than [a]. Compare the meanings of **ájívan** (all life), **ákáśa** (expanse). [a] is an even sound, but when it takes a movement forward it become [i]. Hence [i] means 'movement' or 'turn'. Compare the root √**iṇ**, to go, √**ir**, to move. In pronouncing [i], the sound-waves do not go far off. Hence [i] also means 'near' as in **ita**, here, **idánim**, now, and **iha**, this world. In the same way, mostly according to phonetic, physical and psychic principles the sound [u] means 'above', 'distant', 'and', etc. [á], [í], [ú], [e], [ai], [ī], [o], [au], [ū], are all extensional forms of these three basic vowels, and they, therefore, extend the meanings signified by them respectively.

Examples—

[a] **asammat**, dissentient — **aút**, sonless.

[á] **áná**, to come — **áshá**, hope
ásín, seated.

The neutral or negative effect of the prefixes a- and an- may be noted in this respect. [a] is a neutral vowel, oscillating between [i] and [u].

[i] **ia**, this — **iṣṭa**, near and dear
icchá, coming of a feeling, desire — **itl**, this much
idá, near — **idu**, that comes up, the moon
idhar, this way — **it'ná**, so much
etc.

[u] **un**, they — **udhar**, that way
uk'tánd, to desire to be away, to be fed up — **uṭhánd**, to take up, lift
ukel'nd, to turn up — **ugal'nd**, to spit out
ucakká, one who takes away, thief — **udás honá**, to be sad
uchál'nd, to fling — **ughaṛ'nd**, to be taken off, to open
uṛ'nd, to fly
etc.

Compare also the force of the prefix **ut-**, up, in a very large number of tsm. as well as tbh. words.

[e] is a combination of **[a]** and **[i]** and generally denotes the meaning of **[i]**, as in **eṛí**, heel, **ekká**, one—horse carriage, **eṣaṇá**, desire, **eṇa**, roe. As a combination of the meaning of **[a]** and **[i]**, i.e. 'negation' and 'movement', it denotes 'motionlessness', 'steadiness', 'wholesomeness', as in **ek**, one, whole, **eńḍuá**, coil.

[o] is a combination of **[a]** and **[u]**. The meanings may be compared in **ońṭh**, lip, **oṛh'ná**, to wrap, **olá**, hailstone, etc.

It must be understood that a few vowels have to perform a large number of expressional functions. Hence each one of them has various significations. They are comparatively vague and abstruse in their meaning. They are also used to help the utterance of consonants with which they have a tendency to identify and merge.

2. ii(b). Consonants.

INITIAL ASPIRATES. The meanings of consonants are clearer. Of these, too, the aspirates have distinct signification. They denote various qualities of sounds which, by the combination of other letters, have come to signify so many objects, actions and notions. Let us first take up initial sounds.

[kh]

[kh] denotes 'hollowness', as in—

khokh'lá, hollow
khoná, to lose
kharońc, a bruise
khańkháv, a blemish in a horse
khańj'rí, a small drum
khál, skin
khíl, chaff
khán, mine
khajár, palm, a sweetmeat, dates
khaṛ, husk, straw
khod'ná, to dig
khoṭá, faulty
khańk, feeble
khańḍahar, ruins
khal, a worthless fellow
khalí, dregs of seeds
khád, manure, dung
khańj, lame
khaṛak, a cow-pen
khattá, a granary
khap'ná, to be used up
khabbá, mutilated, left

khadán, a pit **khop'ṛí,** the skull
khádar, moist alluvial land.

[kh] as a sound relates to sky. Note the preservation of this meaning in **khagol,** astronomy, **khacar,** cloud. From this it has evolved to mean 'light'.

Compare—

kharé, bright frank, pure **khil'ná,** to bloom
khul'ná, to open **khel'ná,** to play
khar'sá, summer **khum'sáná,** to be angry, to burn
khij'ná, to fret
khiṛ'kí, a window (for light) etc.

[gh]

[gh], as a sound, denotes 'friction', as in—

ghis'ná, to be rubbed **ghaṛ'ná,** to make
ghasiṛ'ná, to drag **ghaṅṭí,** a gongbell
ghaṛiyál, a gong **ghávv,** wound
ghúm'ná, to wander **ghúnṭ,** draught
ghin, nausea, disgust **ghuṅgh'rú,** bell
ghuṭ'ná, to be powdered **ghir'ní,** a pulley
ghanak'ná, to thunder **ghun,** weevil

etc.

It also gives a feeling of disturbance and over-crowdedness.

Compare—

ghaná, thick **gham'sán,** carnage
ghan'ghor, cloudy **ghátá,** loss
ghaṅghol'ná, to stir **ghap'lá,** confusion
ghab'ráná, to be preplexed **ghamas,** heat
ghah'ráná, to roar **ghar** itself is a crowded place
ghir'ná, to be surrounded **ghuṛak'ná,** to brow-beat
ghol'ná, to mix up **ghátí,** valley.

[ch]

[ch] denotes 'cutting' and 'covering'.

Compare—

(a) **chaṅṭ'ná,** to grow thin **choṛ'ná,** to leave
chaṭ'paṭáná, to tumble about, to be agitated **chaṛ'ná,** to pound and husk
chán'ná, to sift **ched,** a hole
chení, a chisel

chíj, decrease
chíl'ná, to pare
cheṛ, vexing
(b) **cháj**, winnowing basket
cháńv, shade
chátí, chest
chat, roof
chápá, attack
chávʼní, cantonment
chiṛak'ná, to sprinkle
chop, a coat of paint
chíl'ná, to peel
cholá, gram in a pod.
churí, knife
cheṭá, small
chhur, shaving
chadma, disguise
chol'dárí, a tent
chátá, umbrella
chip'ná, to hide
chál, bark
chich'ṛá, slough
chúná, to touch
chíl'ká, husk, (a cover)
chol'ní, a scraper, and

Compare **chúchá**, empty (as a cover), with **khokh'lá**, empty (as a hollow).

[jh]

[jh] shows 'suddenness', as in—

jhaṭ, at once
jhańjhoṛ'ná, to shake
jhaṛí, shower
jhaṛájhaṛ, rapidly
jhapak'ná, to spring
jhal'kí, flash
jhárú, broom
jhur'maṭ, a crowd
jhońká, a puff
jhańjhaṭ, wrangling
jhak, insanity
jhaṛ'ná, to drop
jhapaṭṭá, assault
jhalak'ná, to shine
jhánk'ná, to peep
jhijhak'ná, to hesitate
jhońk'ná, to cast
jhiṛak'ná, to scold.

Compare **ghúr'ná**, to look angrily, and **jhúr'ná**, to pound; and also **ghúm'ná**, to roam about, and **jhúm'ná**, to wave, to hang down.

[ṭh]

[ṭh] shows 'deformity' and 'violence', as in—

ṭhag, a robber
ṭhaṭṭhá, a jest
ṭhiṅg'ná, dwarfish
ṭhuḍḍí, chin
ṭhoká, contract
ṭhaṛ'ná, to oppose
ṭhaṭh'rí, a skeleton
ṭhasak'ná, to break
ṭhálí, worthless
ṭhuńṭh, a stump
ṭhes, a blow
ṭhíṭh'rá, potsherd.

Compare **ṭhaṭhak'ná,** to stop, **jhijhak'ná,** to hesitate, the one showing violent reaction and the other suddenness. There is likelihood of such meanings to coalesce.

[ḍh]

[ḍh] shows 'slowness of movement', as in—

ḍhílá, loose
ḍhaṅḍhorá, search, a large drum which has slow muffled sound
ḍhalak'ná, to slip down, to fall
ḍhelá, lump of clay
ḍhoná, to carry
ḍhíṭh, obstinate
ḍhál, slope
ḍhakel'ná, to push
ḍháṛas, persuasion
ḍheṅkulí, a machine for drawing water
ḍher, heap
ḍhor, cattle

etc.

[th]

[th] means 'shelter', as in—

thambh, pillar, post
thám'ná, to support
thavaí, a mason
thátí, a trust
thánáa, a police station
thir, fixed
thop'ná, to plaster
thaílí, a bag.
thapak, to tap
thal, place
tháng, a den of thieves
thán, a place (for shelter)
thál, a plate
tháh, bottom, end
theg'lí, a patch

It may be compared with **[ch]** which means 'covering'.

[th] as a sound denotes apprehension or danger, as in **thar'tharáná,** to tremble, **thalak'ná,** to flutter, **thappaṛ,** slap.

[dh]

[dh] signifies 'holding', as in—

dhan, money
dhán, rice
dhaj, form
dhaṛá, a party
dhanátál, wealthy, wicked
dhun, application.
dhandhá, business
dhar'ná, to place
dhaṛ, body
dhannaí, a beam
dhyán, attention

Compare Skt. √ **dha—dhárayc.**

As a sound it shows noise of a frightening nature, as in—

dham'kí, threat
dhap, noise
dhaṛ'ká, fear
dhāṅás, assault
dhuńdh'lá, dim
dhappá, thump
dhamáká, firelock
dhakká, push
dhun, sound
dhun'ná, to card

etc.

[ph]

[ph] means 'breaking' and 'growing', as in—

phaṭ'ná, to crack
phaṛak'ná, to flutter
phoṛá, a blister
pharah'rá, a flag
phaláńg, a bound
phańsáná, to entangle, to entrap
phúl'ná, to grow,
phāīl'ná, to spread.
pháṛ'ná, to tear
phaṇ, the expanded hood
phaban, charm
phal, fruit
phasak'ná, to burst
phir'ná, to move
phur'tí, activity
phúńk, a puff
phungí, a sprout.

[bh]

[bh] denotes 'delusion', as in—

bhańvar, a whirlpool
bhakuá, stupid
bhagal, deception
bhág'ná, to run away
bhacak, startled
bhaṛ'kílá, showy
bhaddá, clumsy
bhaviṣya, future
bhán'matí, actress
bhút, past
bhím, terrific
bhońdú, silly
bhak'sí, a drak room
bhattá, allowances
bhag'ván, God
bhańga, hemp
bhaṭak'ná, to go astray
bháńḍ, a mimic
bhay, fear
bháminí, a passionate woman
bhúl'ná, to forget
bhāīrav, dreadful
bheṛ, a sheep

etc.

It may be carefully noted that the meaningfulness of other sounds is responsible for various shades of meanings in different words, each being determined by the combinations of sounds constituting a word.

I

NON-INITIAL ASPIRATES. The same meanings of aspirates are also available in other positions of a word. But it is a striking observation that, as a rule, the initial sound asserts its dominance throughout. If the aspirate has been able to preserve its semantic entity in a non-initial position it is largely due to the stronger force of its meaning than that of the initial sound. It is especially forceful against a vowel or a consonant which has neutral meaning.

Examples—

[kh]—hollowness

ákhá, a wallet — **akháṛá,** palaestra
ukháṛ'ná, to uproot — **okh'lí,** mortar
kakhāūrí, armpit — **kokh,** the womb.

[gh]—friction and disturbance

agh, sin — **megh,** cloud
ughaṛ'ná, to unfold — **khaṅghál'ná,** to rinse.

[ch]—cutting and covering

káṅchá, a lion cloth — **ochá,** mean
múṅch, moustaches (they cover the mouth).

[jh]—suddenness

ojhaṛ, a thrust — **sulajh'ná,** to be solved
níjh'ná, to dote — **bújh'ná,** to learn
khíjh'ná, to fret.

[ṭh]—deformity and violence

iṭh'láná, to walk affectedly — **āiṅṭh'ná,** to distort
kaṭhor, hard, cruel — **moṭh,** a low form of lintels
gáṅṭh, knot — **láṭhí,** stick.

[ḍh]—slowness

áṛhat, sale by commission — **buḍḍhá,** old
meṅḍhak, frog.

[th]—danger

uthal'ná, to overset — **mathání,** churn
bithar'ná, to be scattered — **nathune,** nostrils.

[dh]—holding

kaṅdhá, shoulder — **adhar,** lower lip
ádhár, support — **adhín,** dependent.

[ph]—breaking and growing

uphan'ná, to boil — **aphar'ná,** to be full
háṅph'ná, to pant — **ḍaph'lí,** a drum.

[bh]—delusion

ábhás, glare	**ábhá,** light
ubhán'ná, to alarm	**ubhár'ná,** to excite
cubh'ná, to prick.	

COMMUNITY OF SOUND SEMATOLOGY IN NIA. Although sound principles of different languages are different, sounds in NIA languages have common attributes. It may be noted that they all derive their sound sematology from OIA, that initial sounds of OIA are usually retained in NIA, and that borrowing from one modern Indo-Aryan vernacular into another is natural, easy and frequent. Once a particular meaning comes to be attached to a particular sound in OIA, it continues to subsist in NIA not only in tsm and tbh words but also in Deshi words manufactured on the analogy of similar words containing similar meanings. Men, somehow, appreciate the relation that has come to exist between those sounds and those meanings. A study of several dictionaries of Indo-Aryan languages at once strikes the reader about the community of sound sematology in NIA. There is unity of system in so far as initial sounds are concerned. The diversity arises mostly in the non-initial sounds and that is determined by the respective phonology of each language. A few examples only can be given here.

Compare—

[kh] in Beng.	**khanan,** digging	**khám,** envelope
	khánca, cage	**khánjá,** groove
Punj.	**khál,** channel	
Guj.	**khakh,** decayed	**khaṅkh,** want, devastation
	khaḍ'kí, a courtyard, a street, with which may be compared H. **khiṛ'kí,** a window.	
[gh] in Beng.	**ghúm,** to sleep	**gholá,** turbid
	ghúr, to revolve, to turn	**ghom'ṭá,** veil
Punj.	**ghuṅḍ,** veil	
Guj.	**ghac,** pricking	**ghaṛ,** hammering or cutting
	ghamágham, hurry	**ghál'vuṅ,** to push
	ghaṇ, a weevil	
cf. H.	**ghun,** S., P. **ghuṇ.**	
[ch] in Beng.	**chipi,** a cork	**chánda,** to wrap
	chámi, cataract	**cholá,** gram, to scrape

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	chúńcá, a needle	
Punj.	**chejá,** peel	**chúṇí,** lid
Guj.	**chaḍo,** sprinkling of water	**cháńd'vuń,** to cover with earth
	cháṇ, drug (cf. Punj. **cháṇ,** husk)	
	chíbuń, a flat dish	**chíḍuń,** an opening in a hedge
[ḍh] in Beng.	**ḍhúlá,** to nod	**ḍhok,** to gulp
Punj.	**ḍhan,** a pond	
Guj.	**ḍhaḍḍo,** an illiterate person	**ḍhabbú,** a worthless person
		ḍháḍhuń, a dead animal
	ḍhas'luń, credulous	etc.

UNASPIRATED CONSONANTS. Of the other consonants the cerebrals show deformity and diminution. They are very strong in their meanings which they retain in all positions.

Examples—

[ṭ]

[ṭ] in **ṭańṭá,** strife, **ṭaká,** a low coin. Compare also—

ṭaká sá javáb, refusal	**ṭag'rá,** squint-eyed
ṭaṭṭí, a latrine	**ṭaṭṭú,** a pony
ṭap'ká, dropping	**ṭarrá,** wicked,
ṭasak, stretch	**ṭáńṭhá,** hard
ṭáṭ, a rough sackcloth	**ṭápú,** an island
ṭibbá, a mound	**ṭińḍá,** a kind of vegetable
ṭiḍḍá, a grasshopper	**ṭíká,** a mark
ṭuńḍá, handless	**ṭuk'ṛá,** piece
ṭúṭ'ná, to break	**ṭeńṭ,** pod
ṭeṛhá, crooked	**ṭoṭá,** loss
ṭoná, charm	**ṭolí,** a bad group

etc.

choṭá, small	**khoṭá,** impure
laṭṭú, a top	**gaṭṭá,** ankle
bhíṭá, a clod	**káṭ'ná,** to cut
kapaṭ, fraud	**cháńṭ'ná,** to sort
coṭ, injury	**cyúńṭí,** an ant
roṭí, bread	**beṭá,** child
búṭ, gram	**hir'nauṭá,** a young of deer
poṭá, the eyelid, young children,	

etc.

[ḍ]

[ḍ] has a sense of violence coupled with deformity or dimunition, as in—

ḍaṅkā, a kettledrum
ḍaṅḍā, a stick
ḍākā, dacoity
ḍaṭ'nā, to stop
ḍūb'nā, to be drowned
ḍar'nā, to fear
ḍāṅṭ, threat
ḍāh'nā, to burn
ḍāṛh, grinder tooth

ḍaṅk, sting, nib
ḍakār, belch
ḍaggā, a lean long-legged horse
ḍapaṭ'nā, to rebuke
ḍab'rī, a cup
ḍāk'nā, to vomit
ḍāṅs, a gnat
ḍābh, a grass
ḍig'nā, to fall

etc.

laṅḍ, penis
ruṅḍ'muṅḍ, shaven head
meṅḍak, frog
piṅḍ, a lump
tuṅḍ, trunk

sāṅḍ, a stallion
guṅḍā, a rascal
bhoṅḍā, illshaped
sūṅḍ, trunk
jhaṅḍā, a flag

etc.

[ṛ]

[ṛ] is more common than [ḍ] in Hindi words, but it has the same signification. It may be remembered that [ṛ] has evolved from [r] as well as [ḍ]. Its meaning oscillates between the two. Examples—

kūṛā, rubbish
bhiṛ, hornet
kīṛā, an insect
toṛ'nā, to break
rāṛ, quarrel
bhiṛ'nā, to fight

ciṛiyā, a sparrow
guṛ, a small lump of sugar
jaṛ'nā, to set
muṛ'nā, to turn
piājaṛā, a cage
bheṛ, sheep

etc.

The meaning of cerebrals is most clearly defined in Hindi words.

[r], [l]

[r] and [l] express fineness and delicate feelings, [l] being sweeter than [r].

Compare [r] in—

rāg, raṅg, love, enjoyment
rakta, blood

rakṣá, protection
rác'ná, to plan
rát, night
rájá, king
ratna, jewel
rab'ṛí, thick milk
ralá, union
ras'ná, tongue
ras, taste
rah'ná, to live
ricá, a vedic mantra etc.

[r] has the tendency to express the same meaning as **[ṛ].** It is a well-known fact that on the one hand **[r]** is confused with **[l]** and on the other hand with **[ṛ]** in Hindi words.

Examples—

rákh, ashes
rank, begger
pinjar, skeleton
rár, fray
rásá, dispute
ráhu, Typhon
rích, a bear
relá, a torrent

etc.

[l] in—

lál, darling
lobh, lálac, ambition
lár, saliva
laṛ'ká, a boy
lajjá, shame
lacak, elasticity
lík, a line
laghu, light
lílá, sport
líp'ná, to besmear
lugáí, a wife
lau, flame, attachment
lolá, earring
launí, butter
launjí, pickle
laṛ'ká, a boy
lená, to take
khel'ná, to play
hil'ná, to move
billí, a cat
dub'lá, thin
mil'ná, to meet.

In a few cases **[l]** has the meaning of **[ṛ]**, as in **lúlá,** crippled, **loṅdá,** a lump, etc.

[r] and **[l]** are so delicate that they are easily affected by the meaning of **[ṭ]** and **[ṛ].**

Examples—

ríṭhá, soap-nut
ráṅḍ, widow
rúnkhaṛ, beggar
rahaṭ, a wheel at a well
rúng'ṭá, short hair of the body
ragaṛ, friction
reṅḍ, castor
roṛá, pebble
leṅṛ, filth
launḍá, a boy
laṛ'ná, to quarrel
lúṭ, plunder
láṭhí, stick

luṅḍá, tail-cropt **laṭ,** tangled hair
laṅg'ṛá, lame etc.

[ṣ] is not a Hindi sound. Even in Sanskrit words it is not common and, therefore, it is difficult to grasp the tendency of the sound. So also **[sh]** and **[y]** which occur only in tsm and loan words.

[s]

[s] denotes a 'movement with', as in—

saṅga, company **saṅgít,** music and dancing
sarak'ná, to glide **sáṅp,** snake
sáṅkar, a chain **sáthí,** companion
saṅgrám, war **saṅkoc,** shrinking
sakoṛ'ná, to gather up **sak'ná,** to be able
sakhá, friend **sagal,** all
sagá, a relative **saṅkul,** crowded
saṅgh, heap **sajáná,** to arrange together, to decorate
saṛak, road, as it goes along
sac, truth **sattá,** existence
sadá, always etc.

The sound has a strong ameliorative sense.

[v], [b]

[v] occurs generally in words which convey the idea of roundness or round about movement. The same meaning has been inherited by Hindi **[b]** (Western Punjabi and Sindhi **[v]**) from Sanskrit **[v].** Compare—

Skt. **valaya,** bangle **vikára,** change
vikása, development **vasudhá,** the earth
váyu, air **vandaná,** a salute
viváh, marriage, going round the fire **valkala,** bark of a tree
varga, a tribe, a circle of persons
vasha, control
vakra, crooked **vajra,** diamond
vana, forest **viraha,** separation
vápí, well etc.
H. **vápas,** return **baṛ,** a banyan tree
bas, control **báṁs,** a bamboo
bájá, a musical instrument **báṭ,** a weight
baṭ'ná, to twist **baṭor'ná,** collect

I

baṭohí, a traveller
bándh'ná, to tie
baṅg'lá, a house
bak'ná, to talk in a round about way, to talk idle
bagúlá, a whirlwind
baṭ'vá, a purse
baṛh'ná, to grow (on all sides) etc.

bańdh'ná, bedding
bandúhá, a whirlwind
bańḍí, a waistcoat
bakheṛá, a broil
bacáná, to protect (from all sides)
batásá, bubble
ban'ná, to make

W.P. **vaṅg**, a bangle
váṛá, cowpen
vañjuṇ, to go etc.

vaṭṭá, a stone
vá, wind

[p]

[p] has an idea of 'protection,' 'maintenance' or 'support' as in—

pál'ná, to bring up
pṝuriyá, a door-keeper
pínā, to drink
pakáná, to cook
pā̄ir, foot
pag'ṛí, turban
píche, behind (in protection)
paṭ, cloth
pat, good name
pattá, leaf
panná, upper part of a shoe, leaf, cover
parikramá, going round
palání, thatching
pás, about
praṇ, vow etc.

poṣaṇ, nourishing
peṭ, belly
pakaṛ'ná, to catch
pakká, mature
pakṣa, wing
pacar, a slip of wood used to fill up a crevice
pañjar, skeleton
paṛáv, halting place
patá, address
pati, husband
paras'ná, to serve food
palak, eyelid
pitá, father
pot, the young (the protected)

[c]

[c] denotes 'prettiness', 'smallness', or 'deterioration', as in—

cańdan, sandal wood
cańḍál, low born
campá, cameli, flowers
catur, wise, sly
cappá, hand-breadth

cańḍ, furious
ciṛiyá, a house sparrow
cakkar, a circle
capat, slap
camak'ná, to shine

cabútará, balcony
caraṇ, foot
cup, silence
cátak, cuckoo bird
cikan, embroidery
cikkan, clean
citta, mind
cuṭ'kí, a pinch
círá, a checkered turban
camr'í, fly flapper
cáṇá, a low class of Hindu
cákar, servant
cám, skin
cik'ná, polished
citra, picture
cith'ṛá, a rag
cuṅgí, customs
cunní, a small ruby

etc.

[j]

[j] denotes 'birth', 'rise', or 'formation', as in—

jan'ná, to beget
jag'ná, to rouse
jaṅjál, trouble
jaṛ, root
jaṛ'ná, to make, to fix
jam'ghat, crowd
jay, victory, success
jal'ná, to break out (as fire), to burn
jáná, to go
jít'ná, to win
jug, age
jeṭh, born first or made first
júṛá, top knot
jot, spirit, flame
jag, the world
jaṅgal, forest
jál, net
jaṭá, matted hair
jan, people
jam'ná, to be settled, to freeze
jará, old age
jau, barley
jíná, to live
jíbh, tongue (it rises)
jug, two pieces coming together in dice
jev'ṛí, a rope
jog, junction

etc.

[t], [d], and **[k], [g],** signify a variety of meanings. It is natural, too, because these are the sounds employed by the children, the primitive people, Indians, non-Indians, cultured classes and all alike. They are, perhaps, the most common sounds in Hindi. Roughly, it may be said that **[d]** denotes giving and shining in a large number of words, **[t]** shows expansion, **[g]** means going, and **[k]** escapes any definite meaning. It is the most fertile semantic unit in this respect.

[d]

[d] may be compared in—

din, day
dev, god
dakṣa, dextrous
denā, to give
damak'nā, to glitter
dayā, affection
dahan, burning
dūdh, milk
dām, money
dekh'nā, to see
dīṭh, eyesight
donā, cup
daī, fate
dakṣiṇā, alms
dāṅt, tooth
dab'dabā, dignity
darshan, view
dahī, curd
dāyāṅ, right
dāminī, lightning
diyā, lamp
dukh, pain
dūt, envoy
daītya, demon.

[t]

[t] in—

tan'nā, to stretch
tak'lā, spindle
taṅtu, tāgā, thread
tap'nā, to be heated
tamak, pride
tōl'nā, to weigh
tāṛ, palm tree
tithi, day
tel, oil
tāk'nā, to gaze
tag'ṛī, a waist band
tālu, palate
tar'nā, to pass over
taraṅg, a wave
tavā, pan
tār, wire
tulā, scale
tan, body

etc.

[g]

[g] in—

gaṅgā, river
gadhā, donkey
gap, gossip
gaṅvānā, to lose
gal'nā, to melt
galī, street
gāh'nā, to tread
gaū, cow
gaj, elephant
gayā, gone
gānā, to sing
gal, neck
gir'nā, to fall
gālī, abuse
gojar, a centipede
gāṛī, carriage.

Compare—

gomtī, ghāgh'rā, godāv'rī, gaṅḍak and other rivers.

[h]

[h] conveys a feeling of disturbance and also 'life' as in—

hak'lá, stuttering, stammering	**hakár'ná,** to drive oxen
hakká bakká, perplexed	**hacar macar,** dispute
hát, market	**haṛak,** intense thirst
haṛ'baṛáná, to hurry	**háth,** hand, (the most active part of the body)
hará, green	

Compare that red colour is the sign of danger and death.

har, Siva	**hari,** Viśṇu
harṣa, pleasure	**hańsi,** laughter
hil'ná, to move	**hiyá,** heart
hulak'ná, to rush	**hulas'ná,** to be rejoiced

etc.

The Nasals. Of the nasal consonants **[ṅ, ञ] [ṅ, ण] [n]** and **[ṇ]** do not initially occur as independent sounds in Hindi. **[m]** gives various meanings and escapes definition. **[n]** denotes negativeness, as in—

na, not	**narak,** hell
násh, destruction	**nikal'ná,** to escape
nihshvás, expiration	**nínda,** sleep
nikammá, useless	**nikṛṣṭa,** despised
nicoṛ'ná, to squeeze	**niḍar,** dauntless
nińdá, censure	**nagaṇya,** worthless
níras, tasteless	**nyún,** deficient
neṭá, left-handed	**nícá,** low, uneven

etc.

The same meanings prevail generally in non-initial positions, but the initial meaning is dominant, although it is modified by other sounds. Sometimes, even the initial sound is covered by a strong sound that follows, as we have noted in the case of **[ṭ], [ḍ],** and **[ṛ].** That accounts for a large number of exceptions.

It is also possible that some sounds have more meanings than those specified above. A further research will one day elucidate and evaluate all sounds under semantic groups.

The meanings of sounds detailed above may be favourably compared with those of Sanskrit varṇas (letters) discovered by Sanskrit lexicographers and etymologists and given below. Hindi has inherited much from Sanskrit, and has evolved semantic relationships of its own.

[a]—all, full, pervading, imperishable, one, indivisible; absence, negation.

[i]—*possession; motion, nearness,*

[r] ऋ—truth, movement outside.

[e]—motionless, steady, full.

[ú], **[ṛ]**, **[n]**, **[m]**—not, void, absence.

[k]—tie; powerful, big, effective; comfort.

[g]—going, move away.

[c]—again; other, different, incomplete, limbless; piece.

[j]—to be born; newness, motion.

[ṭ]—medium, ordinary, weak; hesitation, reluctance.

[ḍ]—action, nature; unconscious, material.

[t]—bottom, below, this side; base, destination.

[d]—move, give, work.

[p]—protection.

[b]—to enter, to absolve, hide.

[r]—give, live, enjoy.

[ś]—knowledge.

[s]—company, sound; that.

[u]—*above, distant, that; and, etc.*

[lr]—fact, movement inside.

[o]—same, peerless.

[ṁ]—certainty, end.

[kh]—sky, void, hollow, open, hole.

[gh]—obstacle, stay, concentration.

[ch]—shade, cover, concealment; whole, etc.

[jh]—destruction.

[ṭh]—certainty, eminence, fulness.

[ḍh]—certain, steady, upheld, conscious.

[th]—stay, object; above, that side, beyond.

[dh]—withhold, contain, maintain.

[ph]—to open.

[bh]—appear; out, light.

[l]—take, enjoy.

[sh]—light.

[h]—certainty, end, absence, negation.

The following few illustrations are given to show how sounds continue to give a sensible meaning.

áp, water, > **[á]**, from all sides, and **[p]**, protecting.

ghan, dense, > **[gh]**, concentrated, and **[n]**, void darkness,

car, to move, > **[c]**, again and again, and **[r]**, movement outside.

bhaga, the sun, > **[bh]**, light, and **[g]**, moving—moving light.

bhú, the universe, sacrificial fire, > **[bh]**, light, and **[ú]**, distant.

Compare in Hindi—

uṭh, rise, > **[u],** above, and **[ṭh],** fully.

ūṅcā, high, > **[ū],** above, **[c],** place and **[ā],** fully.

cal, to walk, > **[c],** placing, and **[l],** moving.

mar, to die > **[m],** absence, and **[r],** movement.

sun, to listen, > **[s],** sound, and **[n],** in the void.

etc., etc.

2. iii. Permutations-Combinations.

On a closer examination, we shall find in the following pages that the meaning attached to these sounds is really inherent in the words containing them. Just as we analyse a word into Prakrti and Pratyaya, and words, though small in number in the beginning, grow by extensions and combinations with various affixes, inffixes and phonemical elements,* so do the sounds, limited in number as they are, are extended by permutations and combinations to form the rich stock of our expression. They now express the sentiments of so innumerable a multitude as all the past and present generations of men. "The plain elementary sounds of which the human voice is capable are about twenty (aspirated consonants being considered as formed from their unaspirated equivalents.)† and yet it has been calculated by the Mathematician Tacquet that one thousand million writers, in one thousand million years, could not write out all the combinations of the twenty letters of the alphabet, if each of them were daily to write out forty pages, of which each page should contain different orders of these letters. Of course, a very small number only of these permutations are at all required for every purpose of life."‡

It does not mean that original moods and notions were only twenty or fifty. But it is possible to class the number of primitive ideas under these fifty fundamental categories. Roget in his 'Thesaurus' has classified all the words of the English language under six headings divided into a total number of twenty four sections.

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* *See chapter on Evolution of Meaning.*

† *The paranthesis is ours.*

‡ *F. W. Farar : An Essay on the Origin of Language, p. 80.*

The further sub-divisions and relationships are determined by these categories and topics. Notions may grow and words may increase but they must be able to find company with some existing words in one of these categories.

The variations in the meanings of sound combinations may be compared with the law of chemical substances. Every material consists of a single substance, or is a mixture composed of two or more substances, each of which exhibits a definite set of specific physical properties. The characteristic of a mixture is that each of the substances of which it is composed, although mixed with the others, possesses exactly the same properties as if it were alone. No one of the components alters the properties of any other component. Granite and flour are typical examples. The material forming one or more substances (such as oxygen and iron) without ceasing to exist, may be changed into one or more entirely different substances. Specimens of matter can lose their original properties and acquire new ones.

Sound combinations similarly react in these two ways: They may clearly indicate sound idealism as in the examples given above, or they may give rise to a new meaning as in many of the exceptions to be found in our vocabularies. It has been discovered that in all languages the names of objects, actions and ideas are generally imitative in the early stages. Most of the roots are distinctive in their meaning and a slight understanding of the nature of sound-symbolism of a particular language will enable a student to understand the vocables of that language at least in their original senses. Later developments in sounds and meanings, no doubt, create complications in relationships between sounds and their significations. Then, of course, it appears that that relationship is neither natural nor clear. Words appearing in new phonetic and semantic outlooks become indistinct and unidentifiable, just as a vulgar person clad in a new-fashioned suit generally becomes unrecognizable even to his or her own companions. The new meanings are largely due to the changes which we shall discuss in Chapters V and VI. Best examples of words with unchiselled meanings are to be found in onomatopoeias. The onomatopoeias are like chemical mixtures in which all elements are distinctive in their properties. Words changed in meanings are like chemical compounds in which each element has lost some of its properties into the other elements.

3. ONOMATOPOEIA.

(i) HISTORY OF ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS IN HINDI.
- (a) INHERITED ONOMATOPOEIAS.
- (b) DEAD ONOMATOPOEIAS.
- (c) DESHI ONOMATOPOEIAS.
- (d) LOANS.

(ii) SEMANTIC VARIETIES OF ONOMATOPOEIAS.
- (a) DIRECT IMITATION.
- (b) ACTION OR MOVEMENT.
- (c) ORIGINATOR OF THE SOUND.
- (d) ECLECTIC SYMBOLS.
- (e) ABSTRACT IDEAS.
- (f) STATES OF THE MIND.
- (g) ECHO-WORDS.
- (h) NURSERY WORDS.
- (i) LEARNED ETYMOLOGIES.

(iii) THE ONOMATOPOETIC GENIUS OF HINDI.
- (a) QUALITY AND MEANING.
- (b) SUFFIXAL EXTENSIONS.
- (c) QUANTITY OF SOUNDS AND MEANING.
- (d) ECHOIC REDUPLICATION.
- (e) SYNONYMOUS ONOMATOPOEIAS.

3. i. History of Onomatopoetic Words in Hindi.

It has been shown in the last section that a classification of meaning on the basis of sounds is possible. In onomatopoeic words the relation between the sound and meaning is immediate and clear, In spite of the theories of some master minds to the contrary, we are constrained to believe that onomatopoeia plays an important part in the formation of Hindi vocabulary. Onomatopoeia, says Gray,* is far less common than one would expect, and many of the demonstrable instances are reduplicated formations indicative of the repetition of the sound imitated. Gray is certainly confused in his definition of the term. It is not the singularity or duplication of the sound that goes to form an onomatopoeia, its imitative

* "*Foundations of Language*" *1939, pp. 275-76*

nature is the only determining factor. Moreover, it is not imperative that the sound imitated must fully express the sound of the thing it represents. Imitation is not only objective but also subjective. Again, a singular sound formed in imitation of a natural sound may be modified, extended and even corrupted. It is for the scientist to trace and mark its imitative character.

3. i(a). Inherited Onomatopoeias.

Gray further suggests that "in terming a word onomatopoetic the utmost caution must be observed, and in every case the criterion must be, not whether the word in a late form may seem to be onomatopoetic, but whether its Indo-European base may fairly be considered as imitative of the sound which its meaning implies." This view of a man of such an established renown is deplorable, indeed. Gray's criterion may be applicable to a few cases inherited and modified from IE and OIA and MIA. But it denies the right to NIA languages, or in fact, any language to manufacture new words. Hindi has created hundreds of deshi forms on the analogy of old ones. Moreover, as we shall presently see, a sound may start as an onomatopoeia but may develop its meaning metaphorically to signify attributes and abstract terms which cannot be imitated by sound at all. The people cannot compare their formations with Pāṇini and Amarkoṣa and through them to Indo-European. Onomatopoeia is the result of emotion, inspiration and dire need. It is instantaneous, direct and immediate. It is the handiest tool of expression and effective, too. Onomatopoeia is the most popular form of word-formation in Hindi.

The following are some of the Onomatopoeias that Hindi has inherited from Sanskrit—

Skt. H. **ghur'ghur,** grumbling, humming — Also H. **ghur'ghurā,** a wood-pecker

Skt. H. **thāl-thāl,** a musical tune — Skt. **chamachamita,** rattling, H. **cham'cham,** shower

Skt. **chuchuńdara,** H. **chachúńdar,** musk rat

Skt. **ḍhuńḍhana,** H. **ḍhúńṛha'nā,** to search. — Skt. **jharjhara,** H. **jhāńjhar,** cymbal

It may be noted how the onomatopoetic nature of these words saves the sounds from decay, or else **thāl-thāl** should become **thālh**, **chuchuńdar**, should be modified to **chuńhar**, and so on.

3. i(b). Dead Onomatopoeias.

On the other hand, we find that most of the Sanskrit onomatopoeias have not survived. Just take onomatopoeias beginning with **[k]**. A reading of a dictionary will at once suggest that most of them are now dead.

Examples—

kaṭakaṭa, excellent
kaṭhāku, a bird
kíki, a blue jay
kikkisha, a kind of worm
kilakila, joyful sound
kaṭakaṭā, rubbing noise
krauńca, heron
karkasha, hard
kákiṇí, a shell or cowrie
kikhi, a monkey
kvaṇa, sound
kacati, cries
kekā, peacock
kákola, a raven
kújati, coos
koka, a wolf
kańka, a sort of sandal
karkara, a broken piece
kákali, a sweet tone
kákila, a jewel worn round the neck
krand, to cry.

Or, take some other examples—

ghanághana, cruel
phupphu, panting
phaḍiṅga, a locust
ghúka, crow
jhańjhā, wind
phih, a wicked person, anger
phakka, to move slowly
ḍhakkā, a drum

etc.

More examples can be seen in Sanskrit lexicons.

3. i(c). Deshi Onomatopoeias.

The onomatopoetic creations are spontaneous and natural. The mortality of such creations is natural, too. Most of our onomatopoeic words are Deshi, i. e. formed by the people without any reference to their composition or meaning in OIA. Take words under **[gh]**, for examples—

ghaṅgholná, to stir
(Skt. **gharghara,** a gurgling sound)
ghicar micar, confused
ghuṅghaci, a kind of seed
ghuṛak'ná, to browbeat
ghokh'ná, to read over and over again.
ghagh'rí, a petticoat
ghaṛ'ghaṛáná, to thunder
ghighiyáná, to flater, to implore
ghuṅgh'rú, small bells
ghusar phusar, whispering

The Modern Indian languages have increased many times their onomatopoetic stock of words. Hindi is quite rich in such formations. We leave it to future scholars to attempt a comparative and historical study of these onomatopoeias.

3. i(d). Loans.

It has been rightly observed by Jespersen that loans are taken not so much on account of any cultural necessity but on account of their phonetic semantic congruity. We have borrowed a large number of cultural words from Persian and they have been easily absorbed for the obvious reason. Examples of words that have been taken for their onomatopoeic suggestion, real or imaginary, are—

bul'bul, (Per. burda-burda), a nightingale
totá, parrot
kharásh, scraping
kajak, the iron hook used in driving elephants
cak'mak, (Tur.) a flint
kashákash, struggle
koshish, attempt
khuráfát, talking nonsense
gotá, plunge.
takh'tá, plank
kháriish, itching
shábásh, bravo
shíshá, glass
kam'cí, (Tur.) a cane
kish'mish, currants
khash-khash, poppyseed
gash, faint

3. ii. Semantic Varieties of Onomatopoeias.

3. ii(a). Direct Imitation.

Semantically, we have a graded variety of onomatopoetic words. A large number of them have almost a full imitative sense. Their

meaning is clear and recognizable. Such words try to imitate the actual sounds.

Compare—

jhamáká, splashing sound	**dhamáká,** thud
cíkh, shriek	**káńye káńye,** crowing
kuk'ṛúṅ kaṛúṅ, crowing of a cock	**bhuṁ bhuṁ,** barking
chíńk, sneeze	**kur'kur,** breaking sound
dhaṛak, palpitation	**kukú,** song of a cuckoo
cham'cham, sound of shower	**bhabak,** flaring noise
thápp, sound of a slap	**dhúṅ,** the report of a gun
phaṭ, crack	**taṛ,** a sparkling sound
chan'chan, jingling sound	**dhánye,** distant report of a cannon
reṅ reṅ, crying of a child	**dhap,** clack of shoes
khuṁ, coughing sound	**jhan,** metallic sound
	ṭheṅ ṭheṅ, laughter

etc.

Besides, there exist a large number of words which it is not possible to translate into any language, e.g. **dut, dhik, kiṭ'kiṭ, súṅ'súṅ,** as in snuffing, **bhal'bhal, bhaṛ'bhaṛ, ṭhánṭhán, ṭhak-ṭhak, ṭúṅṭáṅ,** etc.

A number of these sounds have been extended in Sanskrit for semantic distinction.

Examples—

phuṅkára, hissing	**cítkára,** shrieking
ṭaṅkára, twang	**jhaṅkára,** tinkling
jhaṅjhakára, ringing	**dhikkára,** reproaching by saying 'dhik'.

Compare—

Guj. **kas'kas,** a confused sound **kar'kar,** idle or troublesome prattle	**khaṛ'khaṛáṭ,** rattling
Mar. **goṅgáṭ,** noise **ghaṭ'ghaṭ,** gurgling sound	**khaḍ'baḍáṭ,** loud noise
Ben. **thap,** thumping sound **ṭas'ṭas,** breaking sound	**khan'khan,** rattling
Punj. **ḍhamakká,** thumping noise **gaṛhak,** rumbling sound	**khaṛ'kár,** knocking sound

etc.

3. ii(b). Action or Movement.

The imitative sound may often be developed and transferred to the action involving that sound. A sound is always produced by some action or movement; therefore it is quite natural that the action itself may be expressed by the word for its sound.

Examples—

sáṅ kar'ke jáná, as the arrow goes
dhap kar'ke jáná, as a heavy thing moves
kúkú kar'ná, to moan
baṛ'baṛáná, to talk nonsense
bal'baláná, to grumble
pin'pináná, to cry
ũṅk'ná, to vomit
dur'duráná, to frighten a dog
phaṛ'phaṛáná, to flutter
tun'tunáná, to play slowly on a guitar
myũṅ kar'ná, to mew
khaṭ'khaṭáná, to knock
gun'gunáná, to sing slowly
tut'láná, to prattle
káṅkh'ná, to grunt
kaṭ'kaṭáná, to grind teeth
caṭak'ná, to bloom
bhinak'ná, to hum.

The number of such words is very large. More examples of distinct nature are—**kul'kuláná, kík'ná, kikiyáná, giṛ'giṛáná, thúk'ná, kur'kuráná, kic'kicáná, chan'chanáná, cús'ná, chúm'ná, húṅk'ná,** etc.

Compare Guj. **kaṛak'vuṅ,** to crack, **kakal'vuṅ,** to boil, to grumble, **bhaḍ'bhaḍ'vuṅ,** to talk thoughtlessly, **phumphá,** frightening;

Punj. **kaṛak'ná,** to break, **kalak'ṇá,** to boil, to fret, **riṛak'ná,** to churn, **kusak'ṇá** to grumle;

Mar. **chaṇaṇeṅ,** to jingle, **kaḍam'ḍaṇeṅ,** to shiver with fever;

Beng. **dhán kariyá, sáṅ kariyá, boṅ kariyá caliyá gel,** describing various types of rush.

3. ii(c). Originator of the Sound.

Some of these are names of birds whose chirps have been imitated and the sign used to denote the signified.

Examples—

kukú, dove
kaák, heron
gil'giliyá, a sparrow
koko, a crow.
papíhá, a sparrow hawk
phud'kí, a sparrow

gil'gil, a water bird
kuk'núṅ, lark
kekí, a peacock
koki, a goose
jakki, a bulbul
ṭaṭih'rí, bul'bul, etc. are the names of birds.

Names of ornaments that make that sound are recorded in—
jhul'jhul, chaṛá, jhum'ká, jhánjhaṛí, dhuk'dhukí, dug'dugí.
The following are names of children's toys—
papāiyá, chanak'ná, jhun'jhuná.
And below may be given names of objects which make such a sound—

ṭam'ṭam, a tumtum cart
kaṛ'ká, thunder
guṛ'guṛí, a huqqa
kícak, a kind of bamboo
jhaṅjhí, a broken cowrie
roṛá, a pebble.

The names of some musical instruments are clearly onomatopoetic, e.g.—
duńdubhí, bherí, dhmáṅsá, poṅgí, pop'ní, ḍaph, kakká, ḍaṅká, gaṛ'gaṛí, ḍug'ḍugí, jhak'jhak, etc.
Compare Guj. **jhar'mar,** a kind of transparent cloth, a kind of anklets, **kok,** a dove, **kok'ṛí,** a goose; Mar. **koṅkarú,** a lamb; L. **ghúṅghá,** a bee; Punj. **ghugghí,** a dove, **ṭheḍhú,** an ear ornament, **ḍhaḍh,** a kind of tambourine.

3. ii(d). Eclectic Symbols.

Then there are words which are onomatopoetic in form but which represent objects or ideas having no direct relationship with the sound. The sound might have struck a listener at one time or from one feature of that object. But it is not its prominent feature. We may call them symbolized onomatopoeias or eclectic symbols. As a matter of fact all imitative words are symbolized forms, but these varieties do not show a clear connection between the sound and its meaning. They have only 50 per cent imitative value.
Examples—

dal'dal, mud
pop'lá, teethless mouth
paṭ'kan, a stick
tilak'ná, to slip
ṭiḍḍí, locust
phaṭ'kár, snubbing
hak'lá, stammerer
kic'kic, nonsense talk
bak'ná, to talk nonsense
ṭak'rámá, to collide

I

ḍhalak'ná, to slip down
khaṅgar, a badly burnt brick
jham'kárá, black clouds
jhajhak'ná, to stand still
chul'chuláná, to stagger
cil'cil, mica
ghighiyáná, to request humbly
phah'ráná, to wave as a flag
ṭaṭṭú, a pony etc.

ḍhuk'ná, to come near
jhánván, a brick with holes
jhapaṭ, attack
jhíkh'ná, to repent
car'cá, a rumour
cúhá, a rat
háṅk'ná, to call, to drive
bis'bisáná, to burn
phaṭ'ná, to burst

Compare Punj. **ghaggha**, hoarse, **thatthá**, stammerer, **thiṛ'ná**, to shift, **dhik'ṇá**, to push ;

Beng. **khúnt'khúnt**, grumble ;

Guj. **khaḍak'vuṅ**, to arrange, **jhaṅjhoṭá**, scolding ; etc.

Skt. **kitava**, a gambler, **vadánya**, generous ; Punj. **háto**, for a Kashmiri, **rásha**, a Pathan ; H. **ālī gālī**, for a Bihari, **moshá**, a Bengali, are catch words of the language of the person to whom they are transferred. Their imitative representation is evident. The relationship between sound and meaning, though obscure, at first sight, becomes clear when reminded.

3. ii(e). Abstract Ideas.

It is easily understandable that such things as, somehow, make sound even occasionally may be given onomatopoetic names. But light and movement in general are an object of the eye and not of the ear, yet we do have onomatopoetic names of various forms of movements. Light has movement and it may have symbolic expression.

Compare—

cakácmádh, dazzling, **jhil'mil**, twinkling.

But it is astonishing to find words for objects, attributes, and notions in which sound is totally absent. Take adjectives for instance—

bhíní, sweet smelling
dhaval, white
phas'phasá, weak
khacákhac, crowded

jhíná, thin
kaṛ'kaṛáṭá, intensely cold
karka, hard
kan'kaná, sensitive

bhas'bhasá, soft **kir'kirá,** stony, fine
chichorá, mean **bhak'bhaká,** resplendent
ṭhak'ṭhakiyá, quarrelsome **thothá,** empty
káiyáṅ, cunning **āṅḍ bāṅḍ,** crooked
úbaṛ'khábaṛ, uneven **cik'ná,** greasy.

There are many such words for a foolish person.
Examples—

bhucca, lúlú, sallo, jhallá, ṭhoṭh, bhakuá etc.

Cf. Guj. **ṭheṭhu,** a robber **ḍhacar,** an old man
ḍhaḍḍho, a stupid fellow
Punj. **jhuḍḍú,** a man without spirit **ḍhaṭṭá,** fat, overbearing
dhúṭá, stupid
etc.

Also compare with the above

Guj. **ṭaṭár,** stiff, straight **khar'bar,** loose
jhánkhúṅ, dull in colour **phus'phás,** light, flimsy
Beng. **jhin'jhin,** thin **kan'kan,** biting cold
cin'cin, dim **dag'dage,** fast red
dhav'dhav, white **gaṭ,** steady
Punj. **jhab,** clean **cáṅjá,** clever
etc.

It has been explained by Dr. R. Tagore in his Banglá Shabda Tattva that such words are transferred from the material objects. Even if one such object is found making this kind of sound that sound is taken and then generalized to signify all such objects. For instance, we know that a thin leaf makes a **jhín'jhín** sound. **jhiná** was, perhaps, used first to denote a thin leaf or a thin piece of tin. Specialization and generalization both helped to make this sound signify 'thin'. A trembling leaf is heard making the sound **thar'thar,** and **thar'tharáná** is generalised to mean 'to shake', although we may be trembling and not making such a sound at all.

There are quite a good number of words which are imitative of sounds in the material life now transferred to animal and human life. The relation between sound and meaning in these cases is tacit and shadowy. They may be said to contain only ten percent onomatopoetic value.

3. ii(f). States of Mind.

Lastly, in this order, there is a class of words in which onomatopoetic sense is more obscure. These words express feelings or notions in which sound is conjectured analogically. Sometimes we have a feeling which cannot be described in words at all. It makes an intense impression on our senses and obliges us to find a word with a sound. The excitement suggests a concrete picture in the material life. We feel an urge to imagine a sound in the feeling. Sometimes for want of an adequate word we utter an onomatopoetic word to express it.

Compare—

jhoṅk, a feeling
coṅc'lá, coquetry
hík, bad smell
dag'dagí, anxiety
ghis'ghis, reluctance
kasak, ṭís, an urge
húk, pain
mahak, good smell
cun'cuní, itching
etc.

Compare also—

Punj. **dhapharṛ,** rash
Beng. **kar'kar,** irritation
Mar. **ghal'ghal'ṇeṅ,** to be weak
ghegá, effort
ghuk'ṇá, to be famous
kaḍ'kaḍaṅ, strictly
kaṭ'kaṭ, pain
etc.

In some cases the abstract meaning has evolved from the concrete meaning. In those cases the onomatopoetic relationship is not far-fetched.

Examples—

bharak, excitement
jug'jugáná, to grow
phus'láná, to dissuade
jheṅp'ná, to be ashamed
jak, obstinacy
jhaṅk'ná, to peep
kuṛhaná, to fret
jhalláná, to be angry
dhakká, a blow
dhák, awe
etc.

Such words may be classed under 3. ii(e). above.

3. ii(g). Echo-words.

Echo-words are also imitative in nature. But they are not used

as independent words like the onomatopoeias. They imitate actual words as an echo and have an important semantic value. Dr. Tagore takes them as forms of repetition which subject we shall take up in the next chapter.

Examples—

H. **aṛos paṛos,** neighbourhood and surroundings
roṭí voṭí, bread etc.
ḍere ere, camp etc.
ulṭá sulṭá, upset
bhíṛ bháṛ, large crowds etc.

Compare—

Punj. **páṇí púṇí,** water etc.
puch guch, enquiry.
ran kan, woman, children etc.

3. ii(h). Nursery Words.

Nursery words are also onomatopoetic words in so far as they are formed in imitation of the sounds of a child. Grown-up people imitate them from their children and give them a meaning which they imagine the child intends. Most of these words are expressive of domestic relations and objects in the nursery.

Examples—

cácá, uncle
ammá, mother
bíbí, phupphí, aunt
dádí, grandmother
ájá, grandfather
lallá, brother
bobá, teats
memá, kid
kokó, crow
jhújhú, craddle
tát, abbá, father
dídí, sister
babbú, nanhá, child
nání, maternal grandmother
nánú, maternal grandfather
cácí, milk, teat
bá, water
kíká, horse
chocho, lap
puá, a cake

etc., etc.

Compare Punj. **bebe,** mother, L. **bebe,** sister, Eng. 'Baby'; **lálá,** in Punjabi father and in Lahndi 'brother'; Punj. **gogo,** tummy, **cíco,** bird, **gogá,** bread; Guj. **bábo,** father, **tátá,** bread, **tútú,** dog, **mám,** food, **kíkí,** girl, **kokó,** kiss, **gígo,** boy, **koko,** a baby's jacket; Mar. **áji,** mother; Tur. **báji,** sister; H., P. **mámá,** uncle; Per. **mammah,** teats; Eng. Mamma, mother.

It may be noted that the relation between word and meaning

in these cases is purely arbitrary, as it is in all forms of words. All sound is national and meaning is a question of usage in each language. Every language has its own system and so has Hindi.

3. ii(i). Learned Etymologies.

A recognition of this system is highly instructive. For want of this onomatopoetic sense, our lexicographers, phonologists and grammarians have made regrettable mistakes. The following are some of the erroneous etymologies from the Hindi Shabda Ságar which illustrate our ignorance of an important linguistic phenomenon in Hindi. These derivations are not only unscientific but mostly ridiculous.

Compare—

chiṭak'ná < **kṣipati,** to scatter

ṭhaṭṭhá < **aṭṭahása,** laughter, joke

ḍakár < **udgára,** belch

ḍhah'ná < **dhvańsa,** to fall

chúná < **chup,** to touch

thoṅp'ná < **sthápana,** to plaster

dag'dagí < A. **dag'dagá** anxiety

ájá < **áryya,** grandfather

mámá < **mátulah,** maternal uncle

jhuk'ná < **yuj,** to bend

ḍaṅká < **ḍhakká,** a tabor

ṭiḍḍá < **ṭiṭṭibhah,** grasshopper

jhar'ná < **jr-kṣaraṇe,** a waterfall

chíṇṭ < **kṣipta,** drop of water, calico

jháṅk'ná < **adhyakṣa,** to peep

ḍhuk'ná < **ḍhaukate,** to come near

cácá < **tátah,** uncle

etc., etc.

A recognition of the phonomenon of sound-symbolism is sure to explain most of our so-called irregular or obscure phonologies.

3. (iii). The Onomatopoetic Genius of Hindi.

3. iii(a). Quality and Meaning.

We have given the individual meanings of sounds at length. Those meanings are too evident and easily obtainable in the case of onomatopoetic words to need further explanation. The initial sound carries the central meaning. It is suggestive of soft and easy movements and sounds in soft letters. It is hard in hard ones. Most of the apparent onomatopoetic words begin with aspirates. Their force and clearness is usefully exploited. Of the unaspirated consonants **[k]** is most common. Many words either begin with or end with it. This is significant, too.

The initial quality of the sound is modified, extended and directed according to the nature of the distinctive meaning, by such sounds as **-k, -c, -t, -p, -r, -ṛ, -l,** and **-s.**

Compare—

khaṛ, and **khaṛak,** rattle
khur, and **khurac,** scrape
jhap, and **jhapaṭ,** rush
jhaṛ, and **jhaṛap,** fieriness
ṭak, and **ṭakkar,** shock
dhap, and **dhappaṛ,** slap
jhul, and **jhulas,** singed
thap, and **thapak,** pat
kir, and **kirac,** a knife
lap, and **lapaṭ,** flame
taṛ, and **taṛap,** palpitation
kúk, and **kúkar,** dog
jhánjh, and **jhánjhaṛ,** broken
dhmá, and **dhmás,** threat.

Of these, extensions with **-k** and **-r** are comparatively common.

The distinction of meaning from the distinction of sound may be noted in the following groups.

Compare—

Initially

bhin'bhináná, humming of bees, and **hin'hináná,** braying of horse.
bhmák'ná, barking, and **chmák'ná,** to fry.
khacákhac, crowded, and **ghacághac,** successive cuts of swords.
guṛ'guṛáná, sounding of the stomach, and **kuṛ'kuṛáná,** to cluck.
khisak'ná, to slip, and **sisak'ná,** to sob.
thapak'ná, to pat, and **jhapak'ná,** to glitter.
bul'bul, a nightingale, and **gil'gil,** a water bird.

khaṭ'khaṭáná, to knock, and
phaṭ'phaṭáná, to flutter.
thoṅp'ná, to thrust, and
ghoṅp'ná, to thrust in.
chan'chan, sound of small bells, and
ṭan'ṭan, sound of big bells.
til'miláná, to stutter, and
bil'biláná, to cry.
jháṅk'ná, to peep, and
pháṅk'ná, to chuck in.
ṭáp, of a horse, and
tháp, of a tabor.
kaṛak, of thunder, and
bhaṛak, of fire.

Extensionally

bhacak'ná, to be perplexed, and
bhaṛak'ná, to be excited.
ghoṅkh'ná, to read again and again, and
ghoṅṭ'ná, to pound.
ghusaṛ'ná, to get stuffed, and
ghuṛas'ná, to curl.
chan'chan, sound of water on hot iron, and
cham'cham, sound of showers.
chaṭ'ná, to be pruned, and
chaṛ'ná, to pound and husk.

This specialization of meaning by sound is a strong proof of the nationalization of every language, the difficulty of translation being another.

3. iii(b). Suffixal Extensions.

Onomatopoetic words may be further extended by the use of various suffixes.

Examples—

- **ṛí** in **cic'ṛí,** parasite
  pap'ṛí, layer
- **íri** in **bhambhíri,** a rainy insect
- **áṛá** in **muráṛá,** burning wood
- **rá** in **sharkará,** sugar
- **ní** in **haṅph'ní,** inhaling violently
- **tá** in **kaṛ'kaṛátá,** intense etc.
- **í** in **chucchí,** a nose nail
- **ḍí** in **bhisaḍḍí,** a lazy fellow
- **gá** in **bhun'gá,** a worm
- **ḍá** in **muraṅḍá,** a cake of grains
- **ṭá** in **reṅg'ṭá,** young of an ass
- **lá** in **hak'lá,** a stammerer
- **ahará-** in **pharahará,** a flag.

3. iii(c). Quantity of Sounds and Meaning.

The meaning of an onomatopoetic word is not only determined by the quality of the sounds constituting it, but it also depends on the quantity or number of the sounds. **jhaṭ** shows that the action has shorter duration than in **jhaṭak.** **dhap** denotes that the object was not so heavy as in the case of **dhaṛám.** The following examples will elucidate the point further.

Compare—

phú́, sniff,
phú́k, puff, and
phú́kár, hissing.
phaṭ, crack, and
phaṭak'ná, to winnow.
dham, thump, and
dhamak, jerking noise.
kú́k, shriek, and
kú́ká, dove.
phaṛak, to throb, and
phaṛ'phaṛáhaṭ, struggle.

A single sound shows that the action is instantaneous and immediate. The reduplication suggests that that action has a longer duration or that it actually repeats itself.

Compare—

mac'ná, to stretch, and
mac'macáná, to tremble.
kullá, one mouthful, and
kul'kulá, gargling.
khaṭak'ná, to strike, and
khaṭ'khaṭáná, to knock.
phur'ná, to throb, and
phur'phuráná, to tremble.
kaṛ'ká, thunder, and
kaṛ'kaṛáhaṭ, rumbling.
cham, splash, and
cham'cham, heavy showers.
thú́k'ná, to spit, and
thuk'thukáná, to spit again and again.
kuṛak'ná, to crack, and
kuṛ'kuṛáná, to grumble.
ghaṛ'ná, to set, and
ghaṛ'ghaṛáná, to thunder.
phar, fast movement, and
phar'phar, fluently.
khil'ná, to bloom, and
khil'khiláná, to giggle.
dhaṛak'ná, to beat, and
dhaṛ'dhaṛ, to beat with fury.

The continuity and fullness of action may be expressed by introducing a vowel between.

Examples—

jhaṛájhaṛ, lapálap, dhaṛádhaṛ, saṭásaṭ, gaṭágaṭ, etc.

Sometimes the consonant is repeated in immediate succession, showing intense perturbation and rapid activity.

Examples—

bhabak, roar
khakhor'ná, to scrape
ṭhaṭháná, to beat
ṭhaṭhak, fear
phuph'kár, hissing
cacor'ná, to suck
dhadhak'ná, to blaze up
ṭhaṭhak'ná, to stop

etc.

Thus the quantity of an imitative sound largely depends on the quantity of the original sound.

More examples—

ghugghú, ghúṅgh'rú, jhajjhar, kú, kúk, kúkar,

etc.

3. iii(d). Echoic Reduplication.

At times the reduplicated sound is slightly different. This is due to two different movements and two varied sounds of the object itself. Suppose in one movement a light suggests **jhil,** in the reverse movement it is **mil.** The word **jhil'mil** suggests that there is sudden change in the action, as we generally see in a flash which is a succession of bright and dim light. **[m]** or **[p]** is generally used to suggest this varied repetition.

Compare—

khaṭ'paṭ, wrangling
kic'kic, nonsense
caṭ'paṭ, at once
chaṭ'paṭí, perturbation
ḍag'mag, fickle
kal'bal, noise
khal'bhal, tumult
ghic'pic, crowdedness
jag'mag, shining
tum'taṛák, show
kul'buláná, to creep about in groups.
hacar'macar, thinking
saṭar'paṭar, trifles
cak'mak, a flint
jhal'mal, dusk
jhuṭ'puṭá, dusk
ā̃ṛá̤ bā̃ṛá̤, crooked
khad'badáná, to make a boiling noise
kacar'pacar, chewing
talámalí, anxiety

Also see the next Chapter.

3. iii(e). Synonymous Onomatopoeia.

There are some words now used as synonyms.
Examples—

dahak'ná, dhadhak'ná, bharak'ná	**bhannáná, barˈbaṛáná**
phaṭak'ná, bidak'ná, bhaṛak'ná	**ghap'lá, gaṛˈbaṛ**
ḍáṇṭ, ghuṛ'kí, phaṭ'kár	**ghigghí, bil'biláhaṭ, hic'kí,**
kík, cíkh	**jhijhak'ná, cmák'ná, chanak'ná**
cikka, bak'rí	**jhak'ná, bak'ná**
tamáńcá, thappaṛ, capat	

We shall speak of synonyms in general in a later chapter. Here it may be said that our fundamental assumption that every sound has a definite, constant and specific meaning implies that forms phonemically different must have different meanings. Synonyms are due to the vague knowledge of certain people and their inability to appreciate and express the exact significance of these words.

II

EVOLUTION OF MEANING

II

EVOLUTION OF MEANING

1. INTRODUCTORY

1. Introductory.

A comparative study of the Sanskrit and Hindi vocabularies reveals a number of interesting facts as regards words and their meanings. Sanskrit literature, as we actually possess, is miserably poor in common, everyday, colloquial vocabulary. It contains more of religious and philosophic terms and phrases than popular words and usages. On account of changed conditions these terms were either gradually forgotten or used in senses other than their own. Of the non-tatsama element in Hindi hardly fifteen percent can be traced to the classical Sanskrit. In the absence of any data about the spoken old Indo-Aryan, it is difficult to say how much of that element has been retained by Hindi. The Hindi vocabulary is inherently and very largely Indo-Aryan, yet it is certainly richer in expression than Sanskrit, as most modern languages are. This is due to a number of historical circumstances and important tendencies in the language. Old Hindi began with its Prakritic inheritance which was about 80 percent tadbhavas (including a few tatsamas and semi tatsamas, of course), 18 percent Deshi and unexplained and only

about 2 percent foreign element. Since then Hindi has borrowed quite a large number of words from foreign languages. It has also taken loans from provincial literatures; and learning is, to a great extent, responsible for the revival of tatsama words, some of which have also come via Bengali, Gujrati and Marathi. Larger still is the number of new coins.

When a new object, feeling or conception thrusts itself into notice, we take recourse to three linguistic agencies. We may borrow from another language words which can express that object or idea, as—

from English,

moṭar, motor — **reḍiyo,** radio
jaj, judge — **palṭan,** platoon
lāṭ, lord — **iṣṭām,** stamp
raṅg'rūṭ, recruit etc.

from Portugese (via Bengal and Bombay),

tauliyā, towel — **pistaul,** pistol
santarā, orange — **phītā,** tape
almārī, shelf — **bālṭī,** bucket
mej, table etc.

from Turkish,

cākū, knife — **kurkī,** distraint
sal'vār, trousers

from Persian,

samosā, a salt pastry — **par'dā,** screen, veil
garīb, poor etc.

from Marathi,

ghaṭāṭop, cloudy — **bājū,** side
lāgū, applicable etc.

Secondly, we may frequently extend the meaning of the existing words or even borrowed words to express new ideas and feelings. Compare—

upanyās, statement (in Sanskrit) and a novel (in Hindi).

Skt. **shakuna,** originally a bird > omen > good omen.

vāṭikā, an orchard, > **bāṛī,** a house (in Bengali), a street (in Gujrati), a field (in Hindi).

Tur. **urdū,** originally a camp, > the language of the camp > the Persianized Hindustani language.

1.

Ar. **naqshá,** a painted thing, now means 'a map'.

Per. **barfa,** snow, is also used for 'ice'.

Eng. 'orderly', originally street-cleaner, means 'attendant' or 'peon' in Hindi.

We shall discuss this aspect of the evolution of meaning in chapters V and VI.

Thirdly, we may coin a new word suggested by the sound or by some prominent feature of the object or by associating the new idea with the existing stock of our ideas and their related words. It is here that sound symbolism manifests itself most vividly. We designate the motor cycle **phaṛ'phaṛá (phaṭ'phaṭiyá,** in Calcutta Hindi) on account of its sound, the U-boat **pan'ḍubbí** on account of its function, the sunflower **súraj'mukhí** on account of the similarity of its appearance with the sun, the 'touch-me-not' **chuí muí** on account of its conduct, the penis **laṅḍa,** as it keeps sporting or dangling (cf. **laḍ,** to dally, **laṛí,** a chain, **láḍ,** caress, sport), **nikammá,** worthless, (from Skt. **nis,** without, **karman,** work, use), **sharmílá,** shy, (from Per. **sharma,** shyness) etc. But it has to be observed that we have not created any words. We have given new combinations or affixal forms to old ones. It is a very hard job to coin a really new word.

Thus, we find how our expressions increase and meanings evolve. The evolution of meaning is a very important and useful process in language. If we were to have a word for every single object, act or quality, our memory would collapse under the burden. Elasticity of meaning makes our words handy and enhances their practical value. The evolution of meaning, running with the extension of a word, greatly helps our memory and excites our imagination. It is certainly more easy and enjoyable to learn **piṅḍ,** a lump, **piṅḍá,** body, **piṅḍ'rí,** calf of the leg, **pinná,** a cake of mustard, **pinní,** a kind of sweetmeat, **piṅḍálú,** a kind of root, **piṅḍí,** a mass of sand, and **piṅḍa,** oblations, than to be required to learn eight different words with different sounds and derived from different roots.

The form of semantic evolution which consists in the change of meaning without affecting the word itself will be discussed in the following chapters. Here we are concerned with the extension of meaning effected by extensional sounds or formative elements including prefixes, suffixes, infixes and enclitic particles.

2. PREFIXAL EXTENSIONS

(i) Prefixes in Hindi.
(ii) Prefixes in Sanskrit.
Original Meanings — Standardization — Specialization — concretion — other Transferences.
(iii) Prefixes as elements of compounds.
(iv) Persian and Perso-Arabic Prefixes in Hindi.
(v) Useful Semantic Device.

2. i. Prefixes in Hindi.

It is unfortunate that Hindi is miserably poor in its stock of prefixes. Those it has inherited from Sanskrit occur only in a few tbh. words, and only a couple of them are slightly prolific. Hindi does not commonly use them for word-formation.

a-, privative, in—

aṭal, unavoidable
ajáṇ, uninitiated
aber, delay
alag, not attached

etc.

an-, privative, in—

an'ban, discord
an'mol, priceless
an'paṛh, illiterate
an'ján, ignorant
an'gaṛh, unwrought
an'ginat, innumerable

etc.

ṁ-, < **ava-**, pejorative, in—

ṁgun, fault
ṁghaṭ, unapproachable
ṁdasá, misfortune
ṁs'ná, to become rusty.

ka-, **ku-**, < **ká-**, **ku-**, pejorative, in—

kapút, a bad son
kucál, misconduct
kucāilá, dressed in dirty clothes
kuráh, bad way
kuját, bastard.

Compare Beng. **kukacchá,** scandal, (Perso-Arabic 'qissah').

du- < **duh-**, pejorative, in—

dub'lá, weak

ni-, privative, in—

nikammá, worthless
niḍar, fearless
nigoṛá, wretch
nihatthá, armless

etc.

Compare Beng. **nibhul,** faultless, **nináv,** one without a boat.

s-, su- < **su-,** ameliorative, in—

sapút, a good son
sacet, careful
sapáṭ, smooth
sughaṛ, expert
suḍāul, well-formed.

Compare Beng. **saṭhik,** correct, **su'khabar,** good news.

2. ii. Prefixes in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit fully realized the importance of prefixes. Note how it has enlarged its vocabulary and semantic region by prefixing meaningful formatives to stems. In Hindi such words have been inherited as full semantemes, with the restricted meaning as it had finally developed in Sanskrit. They are taken as single articulated words **(ekoccarita).**

The various meanings of these prefixes have been given in several books on Indian grammar (vide Macdonell: Sanskrit Grammar; Kale: Higher Sanskrit Grammar; Hoernle: Gaudian Grammar; Greaves: Hindi Grammar; Kellogg: Hindi Grammar; Kamata Prasad Guru: Hindi Vyakarana). But they have been arranged either historically or formally and not semantically. No scholar has yet systematically traced the evolution of meaning in them. We leave it to the students of Indo-European Sematology to trace and substantiate their original meanings. We have noted that every suffix had but one prepositional meaning. Other meanings have gradually evolved out of it.

ORIGINAL MEANINGS. The original prepositional meanings are still evident in the following—

adhirája, overlord
abhimukha, facing
uddhára, uplift
apaharaṇa, carrying away
upapura, suburb
niyukta, fixed in
parikramá, roaming about
parávartana, turning back
pratikúla, contrary, opposite
atyanta, beyond a limit
anugámi, follower
avajñyá, disregard
ámaraṇa, till death
durmati, silly, ignorant
nirdoṣa, without fault
prasára, moving onward, expansion
samágama, coming together,

STANDARDIZATION. In some cases the prefix rendered the phrase so vague that the meaning had to be materialized until it signified a definite idea. Compare the literal and the evolved meanings in the following—

unnati, (bending or growing out), progress.
anurodha, (blocking up, pressing), request.
apakára, (an act far from being called a deed), evil.
aparádha, (an act far from being pleasing), offence, crime.
pratikára, (a deed done against another), revenge.
prakṣepa, (throwing forward or into), interpolation.
avasthá, (staying down), station, condition.
pariṇáma, (tossing about), change, effect.
sandeha, (heaping together), confusion, doubt, etc.

SPECIALIZATION. Standardization of an idea has often necessitated specialization in a certain direction. It has gathered a still more definite idea in its evolution. Thus—

atyukti, (lit. a saying beyond) means 'a saying beyond truth', 'exaggeration'.
uccáraṇa, (lit. raising up), raising up of the voice, pronunciation.
anvartha, (the meaning after), the meaning after the word, literal meaning.
apakarṣa, (lit. drawing away), drawing away from the normal, deterioration.
upadesha, (showing near), showing near to a right place, advice.
parikara, (a hand about), a hand about the waist, etc.

In some cases there has been extreme restriction, as—

utsava, (lit. raising up), merriment.
anuvádа, (lit. speaking after), translation, (the word 'paraphrase' also means 'speaking after').
anusvára, (a sound uttered after a vowel), a nasal.
avatára, (coming down), descent of a deity.

CONCRETION. The abstract idea formed by such formations has been often concreted in sense. In fact, concretion is another effect of standardization.

Examples—

uddháraṇa, (carrying up), carrying up of voice, narration, example.

nibandha, (binding down), a thesis.
santána, (lit. stretching along), children.
áhára, (carrying towards), carrying towards the mouth, food.
upahára, (bringing near), offering, gift. (cf. **bheṇṭa,** meeting, gift).
pradhána, (placed forward), a man placed forward, chief.

OTHER TRANSFERENCES. The meaning may be transferred to any related ideas in certain cases.
Compare—
utkaṇṭhá, (raising up of the neck, as in expectation), expectation.
áshrama, (towards rest), going towards rest, resting place.
sandhi, (putting together), peace.

2. iii. Prefixes as Elements of Compounds.

Besides these there are adverbial and adjectival prefixes which occur as elements of compounds. Strictly speaking we should not include among prefixes or suffixes any words which can be used or even understood as independent meaningful words in any language. The following, for instance, are clearly full words in Kamata Prasad's list—

Skt. **punar,** (again) as in **punarjanma,** rebirth.
prátar, (morning) as in **prátahkála,** morning time.
bahir, (outside) as in **bahiṣkára,** boycott.
svayam, (self), as in **svayamvara,** chosing a husband oneself.
náná, (various), as in **nánárúpa,** various forms.
cira, (long time), as in **cirañjíva,** longlived.
H. **bin,** (without), as in **bin'ján,** without knowing.
bhar, (full), as in **bhar'peṭ,** belly-ful.
Per. **kam** (little), as in **kam-umra,** of a low age.
khush, (good), as in **khush'bú,** good smell.
fí (each), **fí ád'mí,** per man.
har (each), **har'roz,** daily.

The following in Greaves's list may also be noted—
Skt. **alpa** (small), as in **alpajńya,** one who knows little.
anya (other), as in **anyadesha,** other country.

Prefix is just a particle or a syllable which is meaningful but dependent on the stem, and which modifies the meaning of the stem and forms with it a new word, a single derivative.

Some of the qualificative prefixes of ancillary type have assumed the real nature of a particle. But their use is restricted to a few words revived in Hindi from Sanskrit.

Compare—

tiras (orig. crookedly) in **tiraskár,** contempt.
puras (orig. in front) in **puraskár,** present, **purohit,** priest.
purá (orig. before) in **purátan,** of former times.
ávir (orig. out) in **ávirbháv,** appearance, **ávişkár,** invention.
prádur (orig. appearing) in **prádurbháv,** appearance.
amá (orig. near) in **amávasyá,** new moon night.
s-, sah- (with) in **saparivár,** with family, **sah'páṭhí,** class-fellow.
prák (first) in **prákkathan,** foreword, **práktan,** first.

Of the qualificative prefixes, **adhas-,** as in **adhahpatan,** down-fall, **adhogati,** decline, and **antar-,** as in **antarang,** inner, **antarráştríya,** international, etc. are most widely used.

2. iv. Persian and Perso-Arabic Prefixes.

Generally, prefixes of Persian and Perso-Arabic origin are used in loan words from Persian and Arabic. A few of them form useful hybrids.

Examples—

kam (little) in—
kam'samajh, having little knowledge
kam'dám, low-priced.

gair (other than) in—
gair'sar'kárí, non-official
gair'hindú, non-Hindu.

be (without) in—
bekám, useless
bejoṛ, matchless
besur, tuneless
besamajh, ignorant
betár, wireless
beḍhangá, methodless

etc.

Compare—

Beng. **behát,** out of reach
becál, evil ways.

2. v. Useful Semantic Device.

It must be confessed that in this age of science and philosophy, the crude and unproductive Hindi as well as Persian prefixes have no future, especially in literary language. We have recently discovered the semantic richness of Sanskrit prefixes and used them with great advantage. Note how Sanskrit has increased its lexical wealth. Only one root **kr** has given **apakára,** disservice, **anúkára,** imitation, **ákára,** form, **áviṣkára,** invention, **adhikára,** right, **tiraskára,** reproach, **prakára,** variety, **pratikára,** requittal, **prákára,** fence, **puraskára,** prize, **vikára,** deformity, **satkára,** honour, **namaskára,** greetings, **sákṣátkára,** visit, **svíkára,** acknowledgement, etc. Numerous are the words formed from each of the stems, nominal as well as verbal. Prefixal extensions of the roots **bhú,** to be, **man,** to think, **ni,** to take, **í,** to go, **sthá,** to stay, **dhá,** to place, **car,** to go, **grh,** to take, **gam,** to go, **áp,** to obtain, **vad,** to speak, may be especially studied for a clear ,understanding of the nature of Sanskrit prefixes. A study of the vocabularies coined by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, or by scholars in various fields of education, industry, culture, and science will convince us of the growing semantic importance of prefixes in Hindi. Almost all new terms from European languages are being formed with the help of prefixes, especially when an extension of an existing sense and a shade is desired.

Compare—

habitation, **vás**	domicile, **adhivás**
residence, **nivás**	lodging, **sanvás**
abode, **ávás**	
cancellation, **vilopan**	expunction, **ap'lopan**
obliteration, **abhilopan**	
abscond, **ap'paláyan**	elope, **sah'paláyan**
escape, **vipaláyan**	

Compare also **sandesh,** message, **up'desh,** advice, **nidesh,** instruction, **nirdesh,** direction, **pradesh,** region, **ádesh,** order, **adhyádesh,** ordinance, **samup'desh,** counsel; **niyam,** principle, **viniyam,** regulation, **pariniyam,** statute; **khaṇḍan,** break, **vikhaṇḍan,** revoke, **abhikhaṇḍan,** quash, **ap'khaṇḍan,** rescind; **vardhan,** increase, **vivardhan,** afforce, **ávardhan,** augment, **parivardhan,** enlarge; etc., etc.

3. SUFFIXAL EXTENSIONS

(i) Analysis by Indian Grammarians.
(ii) Suffixes forming nouns.
Nouns of Agency — Nouns of Possession — Abstract Nouns — Collective Nouns — Nouns of Instrument — Nouns of Place — Nouns Denoting Relationship — Nouns Denoting Diminution and Deformity.
(iii) Suffixes forming Adjectives.
(iv) Suffixes forming adverbs.
(v) Synonymous and Polysemantic Suffixes.
(vi) Remarks.

3. i. Analysis by Indian Grammarians.*

Following Sanskrit, our present-day Grammarians have worked out the divisions and sub-divisions of suffixes in Hindi. They classify them into two main groups: First, those which are added to verbal bases, and secondly those which have a substantive as a base. This, of course, is only the formal aspect of the suffixes. A rough analysis of their meaning has to be attempted.

Beams (in "A comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India," vol. II) gives a better account of these formatives. Dr. S. K. Chatterji's treatment of Bengali suffixes in his ODBL, Vol. II, is semantically still more important. But the analysis of the meaning of suffixes needs a further improvement. Generally, they make nouns of agency or occupation, abstract nouns, nouns of instrument, adjectives and participles. Nominal suffixes also form genitonymics and diminutives.

We shall see that each one of them gives a meaning which is not available in either any full word or any other form-word. Some suffixes do present similar problems as synonymous or polysemantic words, which will be treated in the next two chapters, but it is possible to distinguish shades of meanings in all such suffixes.

We shall take only those suffixes which are commonly used in Hindi word-building, in order to show the semantic method of analysis. The same can be extended to Sanskrit suffixes.

*Vide Macdonell, Kale, and Kmata Prasad Guru and also 'Siddhanta Kaumudi'.

3. ii. Suffixes forming Nouns.

NOUNS OF AGENCY. **-a, -ālt, -iyá, -ālyá, -ár (-er)** etc. may be taken as really agentive suffixes. Of these

(a) **-á** makes agents of a habitual characteristic, as in—

jotá, ploughman, (**jot'ná,** to plough).
ucakká, robber, (**ucak'ná,** to pounce at).
(ghuṛ) caṛhá, rider, (**caṛh'ná,** to ride).
(baṛ) bolá, talkative, (**bol'ná,** to talk).
(kaṭh) phoṛá, wood-pecker, (**phoṛ'ná,** to break).

The same meaning is added by Skt. **-akah** > H. **-á,** as in—

gáyakah, a singer — **lekhakah,** a scribe
nartakah, a dancer — **náyakah,** a leader.

(b) **-ák, -aṅkú, -áká, -ákú,** which are dialectical variations of the same suffix, are compound suffixes (**á + k, á + ká** or **á + k + ú**) and add the idea of long practice to the agentive sense. In fact they are adjectives substantivized. They are still used both as adjectives and nouns. Compare **uṛák, uṛaṅkú, uṛáká, uṛákú,** one who flies, S. **giráká,** receiver, (**giraṇu,** to take, to devour), **piákú,** a drinker.

(c) **-akkaṛ** in **bhulakkaṛ,** forgetful, **kudakkaṛ,** playful, is also a compound suffix (**á + k + ṛ**) and adds a pejorative sense to the adjectives which when substantivized come to denote agency.

(d) **-ú** is a pejorative suffix, as in—

raṭṭú, an unintelligent reader, (**raṭ'ná,** to repeat).
ujáṛú, a spend-thrift, a spoiler, (**ujáṛ'ná,** to lay waste).
phus'láú, a seducer, (**phus'láná,** to entice).
ghoṭú, roter, (**ghoṭ'ná,** to pound).

Compare S. **tárú,** swimmer, **penú,** beggar, **rahú,** dweller.

-uyá, is a further extension of this suffix in Beng. **ṭekuyá,** skewer, **ḍákuyá,** postman, and H. **machuá,** fisherman, etc.

H., Punj. **bhaṛuá,** pimp.

(e) **-ālt** means 'one skilled in', as in—

laṭhālt, one skilled in club-fighting, (**láṭhí,** a stick, a club).
bar'chālt, a spearman, (**bar'chí,** spear).
bhalālt, a lancer, (**bhálá,** a lance).
daṅgālt, fighter, (**daṅgá,** quarrel).
ḍakālt, dacoit, (**ḍáká,** robbery).
paṭālt, fencer, (**paṭá,** cudgel).

(f) **-iyá** shows professional agency, as in—
jaṛiyá, a jeweller, (**jaṛ'ná,** to set).
dhuniyá, a carder, (**dhun'ná,** to card cotton).
lakhiyá, a telltale, (**lakh'ná,** to watch).

Compare—
Mar. **ghoḍakyá,** a groom, **kávaḍyá,** a porter.
Guj. **nisháliyo,** a scholar.
S. **oṭhíá,** camel-driver.

(g) **-áliyá** makes a general 'doer', as in—
bacáliyá, one who saves, **kaṭáliyá,** a cutter, **gaváliyá,** a singer.

(h) **-ár** (skt. **-kárah**), as in—
sunár, goldsmith, **lohár,** blacksmith, **camár,** shoemaker;
and its extensions **-árá** and **-árí** in—
banijárá, hawker, **ghasiyárá,** a grass-cutter, **bhikhárí,** a beggar, **koṭhárí,** a store-keeper;
and the dialectical form **-erá** (from the same Skt. suffix **-kárah**), in—
kamerá, a porter, **luṭerá,** a robber, **kaserá,** a brazier, **saṅperá,** a snake charmer;
are used to denote low professions.

NOUNS OF POSSESSION. (a) **-í** in **telí,** oilman, **oṛí,** a basket-maker, and its dialectical form **-iyá** in **árhatiyá,** commission agent, **mukhiyá,** headman, show 'possession'. Compare Skt. **-í (-in),** which has the same meaning in **doṣí,** one having a fault, **shástrí,** learned, **dantí,** elephant, one having tusks, **krodhí,** one who is angry, **dhaní,** a rich man. Compare S. **oṭhí,** camelman, Punj. **máchí,** fisherman.

(b) The suffix **-válá,** which should be taken as a full word, originally meant 'one who takes care' (Skt. **pálakah**) as in **kot'vál,** a police officer, < **koṭ'pálakah,** fort keeper, **gválá,** a cowherd, < **go'pálakah,** cow-keeper. Compare **gválá,** cowherd and **gāṃválá,** cowmaster. Compare Eng. 'keeper' in 'shopkeeper', H. **dukán'válá,** or Per. **-dár,** keeper, in **dukán'dár.** The meaning 'master' or 'possessor' as in **gāṃválá,** cowmaster, **koṭhiválá,** housemaster, **ṭopíválá,** one wearing a cap, has evolved from 'keeper'.

ABSTRACT NOUNS. The suffixes forming abstract nouns may form names of actions, attributes, state or condition. They can be

further divided according to the actual force of their meaning.

(a) **-n** and **-ná** (< Skt. **-ana** as in **maraṇa,** dying, death, or **cumbana,** kissing) denote the performance or happening of an action, as in (i) **máṅgan,** asking, **milan,** meeting, **len,** taking, **den,** giving, **len-den,** dealing, and (ii) **leṅá,** to take, taking, **jáṅá,** to go, going, **kar'ná,** to do, doing, etc. A semantic distinction is, however, evolving. The words with **-n** are used to signify a state or gerundial idea. Some have also become concrete nouns, as H. **lagán,** a tax, **pisán,** flour, Skt. **shravaṇa,** ear, **caraṇa,** foot. Nouns with **-ná,** on the other hand, are infinitives used substantively. Compare Punj. **dekh'ṇá,** looking, L. **vekhaṇ,** seeing.

(b) **-í** denotes the state of an action, as in **hańsí,** laughter, joke, **bolí,** speech, **kar'ní,** deed. Compare Punj. **rah'ṇí,** condition of living, **bah'ṇí,** the condition of sitting, conduct.

(c) **-í** or **-ái** denotes the quality of an attribute, as in **ṭhańḍái,** coldness (concreted to mean 'a cold drink'), **caturái,** cleverness, **sar'dí,** cold, **gar'mí,** heat. Compare Punj. **cańgiái,** goodness.

(d) **-ávaṭ** or **-áhaṭ** describes the state of an action with transitive force, as in **milávaṭ,** mixture, **(miláná,** to mix), **sajávaṭ,** decoration, **(sajáná,** to adorn), **ghab'ráhaṭ,** perturbance, **(ghab'ráná,** to confuse). Compare Mar. **náńd'vaṭ,** state of being settled in a place, **(náńd'ṇeṅ,** to dwell).

(e) **-ás** is derived from the desiderative form in Sanskrit and means 'desire for a thing', as in **pyás,** desire to drink, thirst, **roás,** desire to weep, vexation, **hagás,** desire to stool, **úṅghás,** incipient sleep, **miṭhás,** sweetness, **jhapás,** a violent burst of rain (the meaning being concreted). Compare Guj. **dholás,** whiteness, **kaṭh'ṇás,** difficulty.

(f) **-p** in H. **miláp,** union, Punj. **syáṇap,** wisdom; **-ápá** in H. **buṛhápá,** old age, **raṅḍápá,** widowhood, **moṭápá,** fatness, and **-pan** in **baṛappan,** greatness, **laṛak'pan,** boyhood. Punj. **-puṇá** in **luc'puṇá,** debauchery, **múrakh'puṇá,** foolishness, (all related to skt. **-tvanam** or **-tva** > Pkt. **-ppan, -pp** > **-pan, -p, -pá**) are of different chronological stages, and are originally used to denote the state of a quality. Compare **baṛái,** the quality of being great, **baṛappan,** the state of being great.

(g) **-t** and its extension **-tí** denote attributive nouns as in **bacat,** saving, **khapat,** consumption, **lágat,** cost, **baṛh'tí,** increase, **ghaṭ'tí,** decrease.

Compare S. **halati,** behaviour, **(hal'ɳuṅ,** to go).

(h) **-ává,** which has come from the causal form in Sanskrit, denotes causation in an action, as in **baṛhává,** encouragement, **(baṛháṅá,** to increase), **caṛhává,** offering, **(caṛháṅá,** to raise). So also **-áv** in **bacáv,** safety, **baháv,** flow, **caṛháv,** rise, ascent. Compare Guj. **macáv,** a quarrel, Punj. **par'cává,** amusement, something to amuse.

COLLECTIVE NOUNS. **-k** and its extension **-ká** signify a thing containing a collection of so many, as in **cauk,** square, crossing, **ikká,** a pony vehicle, **dukká,** two of cards, **caukká,** the set of four front teeth.

-í adds an idea of diminution to collection, as in **bísí,** a score, **battísí,** the denture, **paccísí,** a collection of 25 (say, stories).

NOUNS OF INSTRUMENT. In Hindi there is no special suffix to denote instrument. Some abstract and agentive nouns formed by certain suffixes have been concreted and semantically evolved to denote instrumentality. In fact, there is little difference between an agent and an instrument.

(a) **- n** in **jhárɳan,** duster, **belan,** a roller, **chájan,** a cover, **joṛan,** runnet. It is further extended by **-á** (a suffix of biggishness) in **oṛh'ná,** a mantle, **bel'ná,** a rolling pin, **ghoṭ'ná,** a rubber, **kuṭ'ná,** a stick, and by **-í** (a diminutive suffix) in **katar'ní,** scissors, **chán'ní,** a sieve, **oṛh'ní,** a covering, **dhaunk'ní,** a bellow, **phuk'ní,** a blow pipe, **lekh'ní,** a pen, **cús'ní,** a sucking stick for children. Compare Punj. **simar'ná,** rosary to help prayers, **phúk'ɳí,** a blow-pipe, **pach'ɳí,** an incising instrument, and L. **kuḍh'ɳá,** poker.

(b) In **jhárú,** a broom, **(jhár'ná,** to dust), and **cappú,** oar, **-ú** originally denotes pejoration or deformity. The idea of instrument is a later development.

(c) **-á** (originally used to make agentive nouns) has been transferred in **jhúlá,** a swing, **ṭhelá,** a trolly (a push), **pháṅsá,** a noose. **-í** is a sign of dimunition in **retí,** a file, **gáṅsí,** a hook, **cim'ṭí,** pincers **(cim'ṭá),** the instrumental sense having been derived from **-á.**

NOUNS OF PLACE. (a) **-n** or **-ná,** used with verbs, denotes the place where that actions takes place, as in **dharan,** womb, **(dhar'ná,** to place), **jhar'ná,** a spring, **(jhar'ná,** to ooze), **ras'ná,**

tongue (**ras,** taste), **pál'ná,** a cradle, (**pál'ná,** to bring up). It is derived from the instrumental **-ná** noted above.

(b) **-áná** (< Skt. genitive termination **-ánám**) refers to a province or part of the country by ellipsis, as in **ráj'pútáná,** Rajputana < Skt. **raj'putrāṇám (deshah), ahiráná,** a locality of cowmen.

Compare also **goṇḍ'váná,** Gondwana, **bhoṭán,** Bhotan, **írán,** Iran, the land of Aryans, **ludhyáná,** (Ludhiana, a city in the Punjab), a place of the Lodhis.

(c) **-áṛá** and **-áṛí** (< Skt. **váṭiká,** court) mean 'side', as in **pich'váṛá,** the back vicinity, **agáṛí,** front portion, **pichárí,** back side.

(d) **-k** in **baiṭhak,** a sitting room, **pháṭak,** kine-house, **cauk,** the crossing of roads, also relates to 'place', so also **saṛak,** a road, (a place to walk ; Compare **sarak'ná,** to move).

-ká in **máy'ká,** house of the mother, is a sporadic suffix. Compare Punj. **peká,** father's house, **nán'ká,** house of the grand father, and L. **ajoká,** of today, **ratoká,** of last night, etc.

(e) **-autá** (< Skt. **pátrakah,** vessel) is clear. It means 'a receptacle' as in **kaṭhautá,** a wooden vessel, **kaj'rauṭá,** a case for keeping collyrium.

NOUNS DENOTING RELATIONSHIP. Besides the suffixes that denote relationship with a place or instrument, there are suffixes signifying relationship with property or person.

(a) **-autí** refers to property, as in **bapauti,** patrimony, **buṛhautí,** the savings for old age.

(b) **-í** and **-el** refer to ornaments, as in **aṅgúṭhí,** ring, and **nakel,** < **nák** + **kíl,** a cavesson. In fact the one is an adjective substantivized and the other is a compound.

(c) **-í** generally denotes the female sex as in **laṛ'kí,** girl, (**laṛ'ká,** boy), **bráhmaṇí,** a Brahmana woman, **cácí,** aunt, (**cácá,** uncle). It is a common and well known suffix in NIA.

(d) **-iyá,** as Sanskrit **-iká,** denotes the female sex with a pejorative idea as in **cuhiyá,** a mouse, **kutiyá,** a bitch, **bandariyá,** she-monkey, **buṛhiyá,** an old woman.

(e) The following with their extensional suffixes denote 'wife'—**-n** in **dhoban,** the wife of a washerman, and the more common form **-in** in **bághin,** tigress, **luhárin,** a blacksmith's wife, **sunárin,** a goldsmith's wife ; and **-ání** in **seṭhání,** Seth's wife, **dev'ráni,** the wife

of a husband's younger brother.

-ní is applied to animals as in **mor'ní,** pea-hen, **úṇṭ'ní,** she-camel, **rích'ní,** she-bear, etc,

They are quite common in Modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is possible that these varieties are due to mixtures from various dialects.

(f) **-já** means 'son of', as in **bhatíjá,** brother's son, **bhán'já,** sister's son.

(g) **-oṭá** (with its phonological variations **-oṛá** and **-olá**) is a pejorative suffix and denotes 'young one', particularly of an animal, as in **biloṭá,** a kitten, (Punj. **biloṛá,** a kitten), **hir'nāṭá,** the young of a deer.

This suffix is more common in Lahndi and Punjabi. Compare **bak'roṭá,** a kid, **baroṭá,** a young tree, **jhoṭá,** young of a buffalo, **kac'roṭá,** a young mule, etc. H. **saṅpolá,** the young snake, appears to be a later form.

(h) **-erá** means 'cousin from the side of' as in **kakerá,** son of an uncle, **cacerá,** uncle's son, **mamerá,** maternal uncle's son; Punj. **maser,** son of mother's sister **(másí), phupher,** son of father's sister.

NOUNS DENOTING DIMINUTION AND DEFORMITY. Of the diminutive suffixes, a distinction of meaning may be attempted.

(a) It is an interesting phenomenon in Hindi Semantics that suffixes for feminine, and 'young one', also denote smallness, as a matter of fact. Note **-í** and its older form **-iyá** in **golí,** bullet, **(golá,** bombshell), **paháṛí,** hill, **(paháṛ,** mountain), **luṭiyá,** a small jug, **khaṭiyá,** a small bedstead, etc., **-ṭá** and its dialectical or phonological forms **-ṛá, -rá** and **-lá** in **roṅg'ṭá,** hair of the body, **ṭuk'ṛá,** a piece, **ṭaṅg'ṛí,** a short leg, **hiy'rá,** the little heart, **maṅjh'lá,** the middle one. Compare S. **paṅdh'ṛo,** short journey, **haṭiḍo,** small shop; Mar. **ciṅdh'ḍí,** a poor rag; Guj. **vāīrág'ḍo,** a rascally sham hermit, Punj. **bak'roṭá,** a kid, **ḍom'ṛá,** a vagabond Dom. A sense of coarseness and deformity is clear in the latter class.

(b) **-ú** and **-uá** show inferiority or contempt, as in **dabbú,** timid, **peṭú,** a glutton, **bachuá,** a young calf, **ṭahaluá,** a servant. Compare Punj. **ḍarú,** timid, L. **siráṅdú,** a pillow (H. **sir'háná**).

-olá in **saṅpolá,** a young snake, **khaṭolá,** a cradle, **ghaṛolá,** a small jar, **naṅdolá,** a small earthen vessel, etc. is a double suffix, i.e. **-ú** and **-l.**

Compare L. **paṭoh'lá,** a toy cloth, **jmlá,** small vermicelli.

(c) **-k** and **-ká** and the double diminutive **-kí** (**k** + **í**) are common suffixes denoting diminution in general. Compare **ḍholak,** a small drum, **ṭhaṅḍak,** mild cold, **kan'kí,** small particles. Compare also L., Punj., **giṭak,** fruit stone, **kañjak,** girl, (skt. **kanyaká**), **játak,** a boy, L. **cic'ká,** a small cake of soap, **luṛ'ká,** an ear-drop, Punj., H. **jhum'ká,** ear-drop, **phir'kí,** shuttle; L. **lmh'ká,** H., Punj. **hal'ká,** light, < Skt. **laghukah.**

-c and **-cí** are dialectical forms of **-k** and **-kí,** and it appears that **sandúk'cá,** a small box, and **mulam'cí,** gilder, in Hindi have been borrowed from same dialect.

(d) **-ná** in **bhut'ná,** a small devil, is a sporadic suffix and it is difficult to say what it was intended to mean, so also **-aṅgaṛ,** in **batañgaṛ.**

(e) Some of the diminutive suffixes also denote diseases.

Compare—

-ṛá in **nak'ṛá,** a nasal boil.

-lá in **thanelá,** pain in the teats.

-iyá in **gaṭhiyá,** rheumatism, (**gáṅṭh,** joint), **hal'diyá,** jaundice.

(f) Terms of diminution are also terms of endearment; compare **báṅk'ṛá,** fine, **shaṅk'rá,** Shankar, **hariyá,** Hari, **bhayyá,** brother, **biṭiyá,** girl (**beṭí**), **jaggú,** a name. Compare Guj. **báy'ṛí,** a wife (**báí,** woman), **bháiḍo,** husband (**bháí,** man).

(g) **-á** is a common suffix used to show biggishness as against the diminutive **-í**; cf. **cim'ṭá,** pincers, **lak'ṛá,** a big log of wood, **ghaṛá,** a big watch. In jocose mood we commonly use **-á** to denote biggishness; **mejá,** a very big table (**mej**), **davátá,** a big inkpot, etc.

(h) **-eṭá** shows deformity and pejoration as in **bráhmaṇeṭá,** a sham Brahmana. Compare the word **heṭá,** inferior.

3. iii. Suffixes forming Adjectives.

The number of suffixes that form adjectives in Hindi is quite large. A brief evaluation of their meaning is given below—

(i) Primary suffixes, used with verbs, are, perhaps, most productive.

(a) **-tá** is used to form present participles, and **-á** to make past participles, as **átá,** coming, **kar'tá,** doing; **áyá,** come, **kiyá,** done, **kháyá,** eaten.

(b) **-ú** (or **-áú** with causal forms) denotes a disposition with a sense of inferiority, as in **kháú,** one who eats away, **becú,** one who sells his property, **ṭikáú,** one that must stay. Compare L. **viṅjáú,** extravagant (**viṅjávaṇ,** to lose), **luṭáú,** squanderer, etc.

(c) **-iyal** is a highly pejorative suffix, as in **aṛiyal,** obstinate, **saṛiyal,** peevish, **mariyal,** extremely weak, < (**mar'ná,** to die).

(d) **-oṛá** < (**ú** + **ṛá**) is a double pejorative, as in **caṭorá,** one who is fond of dainties, **hańsoṛá,** a joker, **bhagoṛá,** a runaway; compare also **thoṛá,** little, < Skt. **stoka,** and Punj. **sāṛá,** narrow.

(e) **-ná** is a gerundial suffix which has come to mean "accustomed to", as in **roná,** one who is always found weeping, **lad'ná,** a beast of burden, **laṛ'ná,** quarrelsome, **hańs'ná,** merry-maker. Compare Punj. **mar'jáṇá,** deserving to die (an abuse).

(f) **-válá,** used attributively means 'about to', as in **jáneválá,** about to go, **kháneválá,** about to eat, etc. It is very common in NIA.

-hár is a dialectical word meaning **-válá,** as in **hon'hár,** that is about to happen (fate), **devan'hár,** ready to give, etc.

(g) **-váń** shows continuity or repetition of an action, as in **ḍhal'váń,** slope, lit. that goes on descending, **cun'váń,** selected. Compare L. **ucáváń,** that can be raised, **haṭáváń,** that can be removed.

(ii) Besides these suffixes forming verbal adjectives, we have suffixes that make substantive adjectives.

(a) **-oń** shows 'totality' or 'multitude', as in **cároń,** all the four, **donoń,** both, **saĩk'roń,** hundreds, **lákhoń,** millions.

(b) **-rá (-lá)** in **pah'lá,** first, **ag'lá,** next, **tís'rá** third; **-thá** in **cauthá,** fourth, **chaṭhá,** sixth; and more commonly **-váń** in **páńc'váń,** (Punj. **pańj'váń,** besides, **pańj'máń**), fifth, **bís'váń,** twentieth, denote 'order'.

-lá (-rá) is also used to make adjectives of quality, as in **kaṅg'lá,** decrepit, **láḍ'lá,** darling, **dhuńdh'lá,** foggy, **báv'lá,** mad, lit. one affected by wind. Also see (e) and (f) below. Compare Skt. **shítala,** cool, **máńsala,** fleshy; Punj. **daṅd'lá,** having (big) teeth, **par'lá,** the farther one; L. **navek'lá,** separate, **les'lá,** pasty, also Punj. **vakh'rá,** separate, and L. **saj'rá,** fresh.

(c) **-hará** denotes folds, as in **ikah'rá,** single, **duh'rá,** twofold, **tih'rá,** threefold, (cf. Punj. **dohar,** double share). The same meaning is intended in **sunah'rá,** (having the folds of gold), golden,

rúpah'rá, (having the folds of silver), silvery.

(d) **-ú,** as in diminutives and verbal adjectives, is used in bad sense, as **peṭú,** gluttonous, **nakkú,** over-respectable, **bájárú,** colloquial, etc.

(e) **-ál** denotes good sense in **dayál,** merciful, **laṭhiyál,** a body-guard, lit. one with a stick, **ḍaṛhiyál,** an old man, one with a beard, etc.

-ár in **dudhár,** milk-giving (cattle) and **gaṅvár,** rustic, is also a form of this suffix. **-ú** adds a pejorative sense in **jhag'ṛálú,** quarrelsome, **lajálú,** shy, **ḍarálú,** timid.

Compare Mar. **mam'tálú,** selfish, S. **sindhál,** burglarious, Punj. **divál,** ready to give.

(f) **-ílá, -el, -elá, -āllá,** (as Skt. **-ila**) denote 'full of', as in **panílá,** wet, **gaṭhílá,** muscular, **jah'rílá,** poisonous, **khap'rāll,** tiled, **daṅtāll,** having big teeth, **daṅtelá,** having big tusks, **banāllá,** wild, **muchāllá,** having big moustache. Compare Punj. **thakāllá,** easily fatigued, S. **camelo,** leathern, **cáṅvelo,** shady.

(g) **-á** is a general suffix to make adjectives of quality, as **bhúkhá,** hungry, **ṭhaṅḍhá,** cold, **pyárá,** dear, **khárá,** saltish. Many examples of word-formation with the help of this suffix are available in Hindi and some other Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

(h) **-í (-ví)** and its older form **-iyá** denote relationship with a place, and later to a language, as in **hindostání,** Indian, **paṅjábí,** Punjabi, **cíní,** Chinese, **dehal'ví,** of Delhi, **mathuriyá,** from Mathura, **kal'katiyá,** a man from Calcutta, **kannāujiyá,** a man from Kanauj.

The same is sometimes expressed by **-válá** and **-válí** as in **deh'lí-válá,** a man from Delhi, **ḍereválí,** the dialect of Dera Ismail Khan.

As such, the words are naturally substantivized.

Compare L. **lah'ndí,** western (Punjabi). S. **sirái,** a man from Siro (Upper Sind), O. **oṛiyá,** Oriya person, Oriya language, Punj. **sháh'puriyá,** belonging to Shahpur, but **sháh'purí** language.

-válá, is also used in other adjectival meanings, as in **dhotíválá,** a man with a dhoti, **dáṅt'válá,** a man with (prominent) teeth, **koṭheválá,** a man possessing a house, etc.

-í is also similarly used to denote general relationship, as in **deshí,** of the country, **náraṅjí,** orange (colour), **sar'kárí,** Governmental, **bhárí,** heavy, **dhání,** white, < **dhán,** rice, etc.

-í forms adjectives with feminine gender, as **bhúkhí, ṭhaṅḍhí, pyárí,** etc. Compare **-á** in (g) above which shows masculine gender.

3. iv. Suffixes forming Adverbs.

The meanings of adverbial suffixes are simple. Most of the Sanskrit suffixes have been replaced by free postpositions. Only a couple of particles are left. **-taná** makes adverbs of quantity in **it'ná,** this much, **jit'ná,** as much, **kit'ná,** how much, etc. The locative **-e** in **sám'ne,** in front, **lekhe,** in account, **dhíre,** slowly, **bad'le,** in exchange, is significant.

3. v. Synonymous and polysemantic suffixes.

There are synonymous suffixes which have converged in their senses (and occasionally in their sound also). Compare, e.g., suffixes in—

kaserá, brazier, **sunár,** goldsmith, from two dialects.
bach'ṛá and **bach'vá,** calf, from two dialects.
sáláná (urdu) and **várṣik** (Hindi), yearly.
rishtedár (urdu) and **sambandhí** (Skt.), relative.
pah'lá (Hindi) and **pratham** (Skt.), first.
tákat'var (urdu), **tákat'válá** (hybrid) and **bal'ván** (Skt.), strong.

The number of such words is quite large.

The phonetic und semantic development of some suffixes has resulted in their becoming polysemantic.

Examples—

-ak in **lekhak,** writer (agentive), **taṛak bhaṛak,** show (onomatopoetic), **baiṭhak,** a sitting room (substantive), **ḍholak,** a small drum (diminutive).

-ní in **mor'ní,** peahen (feminine), **katar'ní,** scissors (instrumental), **ḍaráv'ní,** dreadful (adjectival), **kah'ní,** saying (objective).

-ṛí in **khiláṛí,** player (agentive), **laṅg'ṛí,** lame (pejorative), **agáṛí,** front side (spatial), **báṅsurí,** flute (diminutive).

-í in **ghoṛí,** mare (feminine), **telí,** oilman (agentive), **bolí,** speech (objective), **rakh'válí,** care (abstract), **desí** (adjectival), **cim'ṭí,** (diminutive) etc.

-á in **pújá,** worship (abstract), **melá,** fair (collective), **bálá,** girl (feminine), **bhúnjá,** parcher (agentive), **jhúlá,** a swing (instrumental), **calá,** gone (participial), **bal'devá,** (diminutive). etc., etc.

3. vi. Remarks.

The development of vocabulary by affixation of meaningful particles is a happy, useful and encourageable sign of linguistic culture.

Modern Indian languages are very rich in affixes of a large variety of meanings. But it is unfortunate that literary languages are neglecting them at a cost. Many of these suffixes are sporadic. Their application to new words is highly desirable. Most of the suffixes are dying out. Our conservative and puritan grammarianism is responsible for our backwardness in this respect of our linguistic evolution. We have lost the power of word-building. It appears, modern Hindi has not coined a single prefix, or suffix, since it became a standard literary language. We have not even used the current prefixes and suffixes to express shades of meanings.

Vast, indeed, are the resources of our language but they are lying unexplored. We need the liberal employment of the existing suffixes and a thorough investigation of means to make significant affixes for word-formation. There is a number of redundant suffixes which can be distinguished in meaning to serve our purpose. Many a new suffix would be obtained from provincial languages and dialects.

Compare—

Punj. (a) **-ebá** in **vasebá,** the art of living, **haḍebá,** treatment with others.

(b) **-taṛ** in **hamátaṛ,** men like ourselves, **tumhátaṛ,** men like you.

(c) **-aú** in **kañjaraú,** wicked, **bhaleman'saú,** gentlemanly, **gharaú,** homely.

or S. (d) **-ṭru,** in **vájáṭru,** a musical instrument, **vahiṭru,** a beast of burden.

(e) **-iko** (also skt. **-ika**) in **vápáriko,** mercantile, **vaṇiko,** commercial, **variheko,** yearly.

Guj., S. (f) **-cá** (Skt. **-tya** in **dákṣiṇátya**), **ghar'cá,** domestic, **ghánṭ'cá,** inner, **loṇ'cá,** salted, S. **goṭheco,** belonging to some village, **páreco,** from the other side.

or, Beng. and Oriya,

(g) **-ámi** (cf. Skt. **-imá** in **kálimá**), **pag'lámi,** madness, **lucámi,** loose living, **gadámi,** stupidity, O. **ḍhilámi,** laziness, etc., etc.

And if we add to them Sanskrit suffixes—primary as well as secondary—, our language becomes wonderfully rich. In recent years Taddhita and Krt suffixes have been employed advantageously in developing Hindi vocabularies, although such suffixes are yet exclusively used in words of Sanskrit origin. Hindi poets, writers, teachers, translators, scientists and lexicographers have found an infinite source of developing words and meanings in order to meet the growing demands of modern culture. Of the primary suffixes **ac, anah, aníya, akah, cvi, ghañ, ghinuṇ, ghyaṇ, itra, kah, kta, ktah, kvip, khah, ṇakah, ṇam, shatr, ṭah, tr, tra, ti, yah, yu,** and a few others have been able to find favour with word-builders. Fewer still are the secondary suffixes of which **-a, -ka, -ika, -ita, -in (-í), -íya, -matup** and **-ta, -tra, -ya** are important. But even these have not been affixed judiciously. Semantic study, apart from grammatical study which has been pursued by Sanskrit Acharyas rather comprehensively, is needed. There has to be semantic differentiation between **karaṇíya** and **kárya,** from **kr.,** to do; **manuṣyatá** and **manuṣyatva** from **manuṣya,** man; **vicára** and **vicáraṇá, tṛṣá** and **tṛṣṇá, doṣa** and **dúṣaṇa,** and so on. A classification on the lines suggested above in section 3 of this chapter is desired, because, otherwise a haphazard usage might lead to anarchy, confusion and even disuse. It is also expected that such a study would open new fields of semantic extension by means of significant affixes, not only in Hindi but also in other languages of India. Hundreds of suffixes are lying unknown and unused.

4. PHONETIC CHANGE FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE.

4. Phonetic change for Semantic change.

Besides prefixes and suffixes, infixes and sound substitutions are commonly used to effect semantic variation. Sanskrit used Guṇa, Vrddhi and various other ablaut grades of IE for making nouns, adjectives and verbs.

Compare—

bháva, feeling, (from **bhú,** to be).

krodha, anger, (from **krudh,** to be angry).
veda, knowledge, (from **vid,** to know).
mauna, silent vow of an ascetic, (from **muni,** an ascetic).
sauhárda, friendship, (from **suhrd,** friend).
dvaidha, division, (from **dvidhá,** twofold).
pautra, grandson, (from **putra,** son).
shaiva, pertaining to Shiva.
corayati, steals, (from **cur**).
or **cálayati,** drives, (from **calati,** goes), etc., etc.

Other cases of phonetic semantic differentiation are also to be found, as in—

lipi, script and **lepa,** plaster.
prakrta, real, and **prákrta,** natural.
laḍ, to sport, to dally, **lal,** to play, to move about, etc.

Hindi has not only inherited a large number of such words from Sanskrit, but it has also profusely extended this method of sound substitution or phonetic change for semantic change. Guṇa is used to make verbal nouns, as—

cál, movement, (from **cal'ná**), **mel-jol,** contact, (from **mil'ná-jul'ná**), **pher,** turn, (from **phir'ná**).

Guṇa is regularly used to make transitive verbs—

káṭ'ná, to cut, (from **kaṭ'ná**), **báṇṭ'ná,** to divide, (from **baṇṭ'ná**), **pher'ná,** to return, (from **phir'ná**), and **dekh'ná,** to see, (from **dikh'ná**).

Reversely, too, some ablaut forms have been created analogically, as—

pal'ná, to be brought up, (from **pál'ná**), **tul'ná,** to be weighed, (from **tol'ná**).

Sometimes consonant change is also made for transitive meaning, as in—

toṛ'ná, to break, (from **ṭúṭ'ná**), **phár'ná,** to tear, (from **phaṭ'ná**), **phoṛ'ná,** to break, (from **phúṭ'ná**), **choṛ'ná,** to leave, (from **chuṭ'ná**).

-á- and **-vá-** form two classes of causals, as—

miláná, to mix, and **mil'váná,** to cause to mix, **phiráná** and **phir'váná,** to cause to move, to cause to be caused to move, etc.

Sometimes various vowels are employed for several shades of the same meaning.

Compare—

phaṭ'ná, to burst, **phuṭ'ná,** to be separated, **phúṭ'ná,** to shoot out, **phiṭ'ná,** to be spoilt (as milk), **phiṭáná,** to froth.

A word denoting one object has its vowels slightly changed in order to be able to signify a related object.

Compare—

(1) **bhas,** ash, **bhus,** husk, **bhúsá,** straw.
(2) **tak'lá,** spindle, **tekálá,** a lance.
(3) **puńj,** heap, **púńjí,** capital.
(4) **gońd,** gum, **gúdá,** pith.
(5) **lańg,** loin cloth, **lińga,** sign, sense organ.
(6) **sir,** head, **será,** the head side of a bed, **serú,** wood used on the head and foot side of a bed.
(7) **bhíṭá,** a lump, **bhuṭṭá,** ear of maize.
(8) **baṭí,** a pill, **boṭí,** a bone.
(9) **galí,** a street, **gāl,** path.
(10) **khul,** open, **khil,** bloom.
(11) **bhiṛ,** wasp, **bhíṛ,** crowd.
(12) **thal,** place, **thál,** dish.
(13) **ḍhańg,** method, **ḍhońg,** imposture.
(14) **kuṛh'ná,** to fret, **kaṛh'ná,** to boil.
(15) **ban'ná,** to be made, **banáná,** to make, **bin'ná,** to wreathe, **bun'ná,** to weave.
(16) **jhas'ná,** to rub, **jhánsá,** deceit.
(17) **pút,** son, **pot,** young of an animal.

The examples of consonantal variations for semantic differentiation are—

(1) **shál,** shawl, **sálú,** a kind of red cloth, **sáṛí,** a saree.
(2) **pāir,** foot, **pāiṛí,** a rope for the feet.
(3) **álú,** potato, **áṛú,** peach.
(4) **uj'lá,** white, **uj'ṛá,** barren.
(5) **bhíṭá,** a lump, **bhelá,** a small lump.
(6) **bhoj,** a feast, **bhog,** enjoyment.
(7) **kańkál,** skeleton, **kańgál,** poor.
(8) **moṭh,** a pulse, **mothá,** a grass.

Instances of both vocalic and consonantal changes are many. Compare the meanings in the following groups—

4.

(1) **daṇḍa,** punishment and staff, **ḍaṅḍá,** staff, **ḍáṅṛ,** fine, **ḍoṅḍí,** beating (of a drum).

(2) **citra,** picture, **citti,** spot, **cítá,** spotted (animal) or leopard.

(3) **dal,** party, **dál,** pulse, **ḍalá,** a piece, **ḍelá,** a lump, **ḍhelá,** a clod.

(4) **sthán,** place, **thaná,** a police station, **thal,** dry ground, **thál,** a plate., **thán,** a stable, **tháng,** a den of thieves, **tháṅbh,** a post, **tháṅb'lá,** a basin of earh about a tree, **thar,** a lion's den.

(5) **cúná,** to leak, **cút,** female part (on account of its moisture), **cús'ná,** to suck, **cúm'ná,** to kiss, **cupaṛ'ná,** to besmear, **cubh'ná,** to pierce, **cod'ná,** to copulate, **khubh'ná,** to be stuck up, **khud'ná,** to be dug up, all of which are traced by Dr. R. L. Turner to IE √ **Sku-** and its extensions.

Keeping these observations in mind, we shall be able to appreciate the phonetic semantic modifications in the following families of words. The central word is given first, then follow words in which phonetic semantic relationship is certain, then come probable connections and last, in each of these groups, stand words (with a question mark), the relation of which is either semantically or phonologically doubtful. In the first eight groups the relationship is certain. In the ninth group all phonetic semantic connections are probable. It is a grand subject for a separate thesis, almost every group of words requiring a separate section and sometimes a chapter for discussion. We shall not attempt to give any comments, our purpose in this chapter being just to point out certain devices by which vocables and their meanings evolve. It is especially to be noted that Hindi is highly inclined towards suffixal and infixal rather than prefixal modifications.

Compare—

(1) **ágе,** in front, before, **ágá,** the front part, **ag'lá,** next, **agáṛí,** front side, **aguá,** leader, **ag'vái,** leadership, **ag'váni,** welcome, **agoṛí,** in advance, **agáú,** earnest money ; Punj. **agere,** further, L. **agáhiṅ,** morning meal,—all certain.

(2) **cakra, cakkar,** a round, **cak,** landed estate, **cak'lá,** a board, **cak'lí,** a small pulley, **cakkí,** a mill, **cakaí,** a duck, **cák,** a potter's wheel, **caká,** a circle, **cak'rí,** a pulley, **cak'ráná,** to revolve, Skt. **cakrí,** one with a wheel, **cakrita,** astonished, Guj. **cak'ṭí,** a flat round slice, **cakar'ḍí,** a

circular motion, Punj. **cáki**, a cake of soap, **cak'ṭí**, a circular piece of leather or wood on which tobacco is prepared, —all certain.

(3) **cácá**, uncle, **cácí**, aunt, **cacerá**, cousin, **caciyá**, one like an uncle,—all certain.

(4) **cauthá**, **cauthí**, fourth, **cauthái**, one-fourth, **cauthiyá**, a kind of fever, **cauthe**, in the fourth place, **cauth**, the fourth day, **cauthaiyá**, a zamindar's share, **cauthápan**, old age; Mar., Guj., **cauth**, a tribute equal to a fourth part of the revenue, Punj. **cauthá**, the fourth day of mourning,—all certain.

(5) **caṅḍ**, fierce, **caṅḍí**, a passionate woman, **caṅḍál**, an outcaste, **caṅḍú**, an intoxicant; Guj. **caṅḍúl**, an intoxicating preparation of opium.

(6) **do**, two, **donoṅ**, both, **duí**, difference, **dús'rá**, **dújá**, second, **dukká**, two of cards, **dukkaṛ**, a pair of drums, **duk'ṛá**, half of a piece, **duij**, second date of the month, **doh'rá**, two-fold, **duh'ráná**, to revise; Punj. **dúṇá**, twice,—all certain.

(7) **háth**, hand, **háthí**, elephant, **hath'ní**, she-elephant, **hatthá**, handle, **hatheli**, palm of the hand, **hathauṛá**, hammer, **hathiyáná**, to cheat, **hatthe**, in hand, **hathiyár**, weapon, **hathauṭi**, manual skill; Punj. **hathálá**, (shallow, hand-deep), **hath'ṛí**, the wheel of a spinning machine, **hath'ván**, an elephant driver, **hatthal**, empty-handed,—all certain.

(8) **piṅḍ**, a lump, **piṅḍá**, body, **piṅḍí**, a mass of sand, **piṇḍ'rí**, calf of the leg, **piṇḍiyá**, a disease, **piṅḍol**, a coloured earth, **piṇḍálú**, a root, **pinná**, a cake of mustard, **pinní**, a kind of sweetmeat. Compare Punj. **pinná**, a ball of thread, **pin**, a mass of clay or cowdung; Guj. **piṇḍo**, a large ball of thread,—all certain. Also compare **piṇḍárí**, a Pindari, **peṛá**, a lump of sweets,—as probables.

(9) **aṇḍá**, egg, **oṅḍá**, a pit, **muṅḍá**, deep, **úṅḍá**, a treasure, bowl, **ãṅḍ'vá**, (?) a rounded cloth; Punj. **áṅḍar**, **áṅḍ**, uncastrated, **ánná**, an eyeball.

(10) **aṛ'ná**, to stop, **aṛ**, contention, **aṛãiṅc**, enmity, **aṛiyal**, obstinate, **aṛaṅgá**, obstacle, **aṭak'ná**, to stop, **aṛak'ná**, to wrangle, **áṛ**, cover, **oṭ**, cover, **or**, side, **ol**, shelter, lap, **oṛh'ná**, to wrap, **oṛh'ní**, a wrapping sheet, **oṛhar**, excuse,

oṛan, shield, **oṛá,** a big basket, **aḍḍá,** (?) a place to stop, tonga stand, **ojhal,** (?) out of sight, **olí,** (?) Dhoti, **orí,** (?) the eaves of a house. Compare Punj. **aṛá,** stoppage, **aṛel,** the name of a tool used by gold beaters, **aṛes,** complication, **aṛí,** perversity, etc.

(11) **kuṅḍ,** a basin, **kunńá,** a pitcher, **kuṅḍí,** a stone mortar, **kuṅṛiyá,** a salt pit, **kuńd'rá,** a circular cloth-base, **kuńṛ,** coil, furrow, **kúńḍá,** a trough, **kuṅḍaliní,** circular, **kuṅḍalí, kuṅḍal,** halo, **kuṅḍaliyá,** a snake, **kuṅḍí,** (?) an iron catch.

(12) **graṅth,** a book, **gáṅṭh,** a tie, **gáṅṭh'ná,** to stitch, **gaṭh'ná,** to be mended, **gaṭhan,** constitution, **saṅgaṭhan,** unity, **gaṭhán,** connection, **gaṭhílá,** robust, **gaṭhālt,** well-built, **gaṭh'rí,** a bundle, **gaṭhiyá,** rheumatism, **gaṭṭhal,** heavy, **guṭṭhal,** dull, **gaṭṭhá,** package, **guth'ná,** to be plaited, **gutthí,** a problem, **guńth'ná,** to be strung, **guńdh'ná,** to be kneaded, **gúńd'ná,** to weave, **gúńdhan,** braid, **goṅṭh'ná,** to tuck up, **goṅṭh,** coil of Dhoti, **goṭí,** a piece in dice, **gaṭṭá,** a corn, **guṭṭá,** a dwarf, **gaṭṭí,** a reel, **guṭṭí,** wrist, **giṭṭá,** pebble (Punj. **giṭṭá,** ankle), **guḍḍá,** (?) a doll, **guṛiyá,** (?) a small doll, **guṅḍá,** (?) wicked, **gaṅḍá,** (?) knotted hair, **gaṅḍ,** (?) cheek, **gaṅḍerí,** (?) a piece of sugarcane, **káṅḍ,** (?) division. Compare Punj. **gaṭhái,** compensation for mending, **goth'ná,** to unite by twisting, **guth'lá,** a bag, **guth'váṅ,** plaited, etc.

(13) **chatra,** an umbrella, **chat,** roof, **chattá,** honey comb, **chátá,** umbrella, **chat'rí,** a small umbrella, **chattar,** royal umbrella, **chátí,** breast, **chappar,** house, **chajjá,** balcony, **cháj,** a winnowing fan, **cháj'ná,** to thatch, **cháná,** to over-spread, **chat'nár,** spread like an umbrella, **chadma,** (?) trick, **cháńh,** (?) shade. Compare Punj. **chatrá,** a ram, (Skt. **chatrakah**), **chat,** broadcast sowing, **chatte,** wide-spread hair, **chat'váí,** price of roofing.

(14) **chaṅṭ'ná,** to be cut, **cháṅṭ'ná,** to sort, **cháṅṭan,** cutting, **chaṛ'ná,** to pound, **chaṛáná,** to get sifted, **chaṛí,** stick, an instrument of sifting or pounding, **chaṛá,** alone (sifted), **cháṅṛ'ná,** to vomit, **chíṅṭá,** splash, **chíṅṭ,** drop, **chíṅṭ,** calico print, **chuṭ'ná,** to be pruned, **chúṭ'ná,** to be free, **chuṭ'kárá,** salvation, **chuṭṭí,** leave, **chuṭṭá,** separate,

choṛ'ná, to give up, **cheṛ'ná,** to tease. Compare Punj. **cháṇḍá,** the trunk of a tree with branches lopped off, **chaṛáí,** wages for husking grain in a mortar.

(15) **jaṭá,** matted hair, **júṭ,** thick hair (ech -word), **jaṛ,** root, **jaṛí,** herb, **ujáṛ'ná,** to uproot, **ujáṛ,** barren, **júṛá,** a top knot, **jaṭil,** complicated, **jáṭ,** a complicated or rough man, **jaṭál,** having clotted hair, **jaṭit, jaṛá,** studded, **jaṛ'ná,** to set, **jaṛan,** act of setting jewels, **jaṛiyá,** jeweller, **jaṛáú,** having jewels, **jhánṭ,** pubis hair, **jháṛ,** bushes, **jhaṛ'ná,** to fall, **jháṛ'ná,** to dust, **jháṛú,** broom, **jháṛá,** stool. Compare Punj. **jáṛ,** a stalk of gram, **jaṛh,** a back tooth.

(16) **nal,** a spout, **nál,** pipe, stalk, **náli,** drain, **nálá,** stream, **nár, náṛ,** neck, **náṛi,** pulse, **nálak,** a rifle, **nálik,** a gun, **nal'ká,** pump, **nál'ki,** palanquin, **nali,** tube, **naliyá,** fowler, **nalá,** urinal duct, **narí,** a weaver's shuttle, **náṛá,** (?) a string, **nyoli,** (?) intestine exercise. Compare Skt. **nálikā,** gun, lotus, **nalaka,** a bone; Punj. **nálan,** sowing seeds in drills, L. **nali,** bobbin of a weaver's shuttle, **nal,** intestines.

(17) **patra,** leaf, paper, **pattá,** leaf, **pattar,** a metal plate, **patrá,** calendar, **patrí,** horoscope, **patti,** a share, small leaf, **pattal,** a plate of leaves, **pat'lo,** dead leaves, **pattirí,** a basin, **pat'lá,** thin, **patti,** (?) a share, (a deed written on paper). Compare Skt. **patrikā,** a news journal, **patrávali,** a line of leaves; Punj. **patrí,** a thin slip of iron, **patroṭá,** an earthenware kneading dish; L. **pattará,** palm leaf fibre.

(18) **puṭ,** hollow, **puṭí,** a bowl, **puṭ'kí,** a bundle, **puṛiyá,** a packet, **puṛá,** a large packet, **poṭ'rí,** a parcel, **piṭárá,** basket, **peṭ,** belly, **peṭal,** big-bellied, **peṭí,** belt, **peṭiyá,** chest, **peṭú,** glutton, **poṭá,** (?) eyelid, **peṛ,** (?) tree, **pur,** (?) house, city; Punj. **peṭá,** the woof.

(19) **paṭ,** cloth, door, **paṭṭú,** shawl, **páṭí,** mat, **paṭṭí,** bandage, **paṭṭá,** deed, collar, **paṭá,** board, **paṭoli,** toy cloth, **paṭāit,** lease-holder, **paṭ'ká,** turban, waist cloth. **paṭiyá,** slate, **paṭ'rá,** plank, **paṭ'rí,** road, **paṭṭi,** land, **paṭal,** a cover, **paṭ'ná,** to cover, **páṭ,** (?) royal throne, **paṭ-(ráni),** (?) installed queen, **páṛ,** a frame work, **pál,** sail; Punj. **paṭás,** a tape, **paṭási,** a razor strap, **paṭoí,** a silk merchant, **paṭṭí,** a wooden tablet for writing.

(20) **phúṭ,** breach, a cucumber, **phuṭkar,** miscellaneous, **phuṭ,**

single, **phuṭ'ká,** blister, **phuṭ'kí** clot, **phuṭṭáil,** separated, **phúṭ'ná,** to burst, **phuṭ'ná,** to ooze, **phúṭi,** disagreement, **phuṭeh'rá,** parched grain, **phoṛá,** boil, ulcer, **phoṛ'ná,** to smash, **phapholá,** blister, **pholá,** skein of cotton, **phaṭ'ná,** to burst, tear, **phánṭ, phát,** division, stripe, **phaṭ'ná,** to crack, **phaṭak'ná,** to winnow, **phaṭ'kan,** husk, **phaṭá,** cracked, **phár'ná,** to tear, **phárá,** cut, torn, **pharak'ná,** to throb, **phúl,** (?) flower, **phúl'ná,** to swell, **phuliyá,** stye, **phul'ká,** bread, **phullí,** albugo, **phuláná,** to fatten, **phulla,** bloom, opened; Punj. **pholak,** chaff, **phol'ṇá,** to lay bare the inner part, **phuddí,** (?) vulva, **phuddú,** worthless.

(21) Skt. **laḍ,** to sport, to dally, **lal,** to play, to move about, > **laṭak'ná,** hang, **laṭ'káná,** (tr.), hang, **laṭ'káú,** hanging, **laṭ,** lock of hair, **laṭ'ná,** to be entangled, **laṭ'paṭ,** folded, **loṭ,** (?) rolling, **lāṭ,** (?) return, **laṭṭú,** a top, **laṭṭú,** enamoured, **laṭ'ká,** show, **laṭáí,** reel, **laṭúrí,** tangled hair, **láḍ,** caress, **laṛ,** string, **laṛí,** a chain, **láḍ'lá,** pet, **laṛ'ná,** to fight, **laṛáí,** battle, **laṛáká,** quarrelsome, **láṛí,** bride, **laṛ'ká,** boy, **láṅḍá,** tailless, **luṛ'ká,** an ear drop, **laṅḍ,** penis, **luṅḍ,** headless trunk, **luṅḍá,** docked, **ruṅḍ,** headless, **luṅjá,** crippled, **leṅḍ,** lump of dung, **líḍ,** horsedung, **loṅdá,** a lump, **laṁṅḍá,** a boy, **laṁṅḍí,** a maid, **lol,** shaking, **lorí,** lullaby, **lúlá,** lame of hand, **lur'kí,** an ear-ornament, **lallo,** tongue, **lallí,** a pet name, **lád,** to load, **ládí,** (?) a load, **ládiyá,** (?) used to loading, **lát,** (?) leg, **latá,** (?) creeper, **lattí,** (?) kick, **lattá,** (?) rag, **lat'rá,** (?) old shoes, etc. Compare Punj. **laṛ,** skirt, **laṭ'kan,** a nose ring, **laṭúrí,** a spinnet, **laṭúṇá,** a large spinnet, **loṛhá,** a roller, etc.

Phonetic variation for semantic variation, as explained above, is a very interesting phenomenon, which if pursued as a subject by itself, is sure to open new vistas in Comparative Sematology.*

The process of P. S. M. (*Phonetic Semantic Modifications*) is the wonderful result of radiation and concatenation which we shall discuss at length in the chapter on important variations. Once a vowel or a consonant is allowed to be replaced, the process grows with the growth of semantic needs.

**The author owes inspiration for this article to Dr. R. L. Turner's article on* 'copnu' *in his Nepali Dictionary.*

5. COMBINATIONS

(i) COMPOUNDS.

(a) SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION.

(b) SEMANTIC EVALUATION OF COMPOUNDS — SIMPLE JUXTAPOSITION OF MEANING — ELLIPTICAL COMPOUNDS — EVOLVED MEANING — DISTINCTION OF COMPOUNDED AND UNCOMPOUNDED FORMS — OBSOLESCENCE — SINGLE WORDS — AMBIGUITY.

(ii) REPETITIONS.

(a) VARIOUS MEANINGS.

(b) DEVELOPED MEANINGS.

THE FORCE OF HI, KA, SE, N.

(iii) ECHO WORDS AND INTENSIVES.

5. i. Compounds.

So far we have dealt with combinations of free words, with affixes or fragmentary words which have no independent meaning or use but which modify the meaning of a base. In this section we are concerned with the extension of meaning by the combination of full words. Such combinations exist in three forms—(a) Compounds, (b) Repetitions, and (c) Echoes and Intensives. In a way, repetitions or echoes are also compounds, but we distinguish here the compounds to signify the combinations of semantically independent and different words which unite to form one simple idea. The semantic aspect of the question has nowhere been so fully appreciated as in Sanskrit.*

5. i(a). Semantic Classification.

Compounds in Sanskrit are classified not according to their form but according to their meaning. The classification of our compounds is not based on a mere addition of one grammatical category and another, (noun and noun, noun and adjective, adjective and noun,

*Greaves and Kellogg have unfortunately failed to grasp this feature of the Indian study of compounds.

adverb and noun, verb and noun, noun and verb, etc.), but a juxtaposition of words connected with each other by one bond of relationship which gives a unity of sense. Thus we have a fourfold classification, namely,

(1) **púrvapadártha pradhána,** when the meaning of the first element is primary.

(2) **uttarapadártha pradhána,** when the meaning of the second element is primary.

(3) **sarvapadártha pradhána,** when the meaning of both the elements is equally important ; and

(4) **anyapadártha pradhána,** when the meaning of a third (unexpressed) element is primary.

1. In the Determinative **(tatpuruṣa)** compound the meaning of the first word determines the sense of the second which is thus restricted. The dependent position of the first element in relation to the second is understood by ellipsis, — **rel'gáṛi,** railway train = **rel (par cal'ne válí) gáṛí.**

2. In the Descriptive **(karmadháraya)** compound, one of the two elements qualifies the other. In this sense, of course, the descriptive compound is a form of determinative but in the former case there is no ellipsis of words signifying the relation between the two. The relation of the qualificative members is appositional rather than subordinate, e.g. **mahájan,** a big man, **bhalámánas,** a gentleman. It is not enough to say that one of the elements of this compound is an adjective or adjective-equivalent. This cannot properly distinguish it from the Determinative or the Attributive compound in which also the first member is, of course, an adjective-equivalent.

The Numeral **(dvigu)** compound is a variety of the Descriptive compound and semantically it should not be taken as a separate class, except because its meaning is restricted by the numeral adjective, as in **pańseri,** a measure of five seers, **cāṅghará,** a box with four partitions, **dubhášiyá,** an interpreter.

3. In the Copulative **(dvandva)** compound, the elements do not qualify or restrict the meaning of each other. They retain their independent meaning, although they may refer to an additional meaning. Both the elements occupy co-ordinate positions.

Examples—

máṅ-báp, mother and father, **anna-jal,** food and drink, **khámá-piná,** eating, drinking and other such actions, **bál-baccá,** children,

etc. i.e. family including even wife.

4. When the first element has the primary meaning of an adverb, and the whole compound has the adverbial sense modified by the second element, the compound is called an Adverbial (**avyayavíbhâva**) compound. This compound may be grammatically important, but it has no semantic pecularity.

Examples—

nidhaṛak, fearless, **an'paṛh,** illiterate, **savere,** early.

5. When the two words standing in relation to each other as in a descriptive compound refer to and qualify something else than what is expressed by its members, the compound is called an Attributive (**bahuvríhi**) compound. It generally attributes that what is expressed by its second member, determined or qualified by what is denoted by its first member to something denoted by neither of the two. The whole compound becomes a qualificative.

Examples—

tikon, a figure with three angles.

miṭh'bolá, a man who is sweet-tongued.

pat'jhaṛ, a season in which leaves fall down, autumn.

Skt. **nirjana,** a place without population.

When **pítámbar,** means 'a yellow cloth', it is a Descriptive compound, and when it means 'a person wearing yellow clothes', it becomes an Attributive compound. This fact, again, shows that our classification of compounds is based on semantic considerations.

5. i(b). Semantic Evaluation of compounds.

SIMPLE JUXTAPOSITION OF MEANING. The loosest type of compounds are those in which words are simply juxtaposed but not modified in meaning, (**ajahatsvártha**). They remain separate appellations in the compound, such as complementary copulative compounds, **mán-báp,** (parents), **anna-jal** (food and drink), **ghaṭ'tíbaṛh'tí,** (loss and gain), **non-mirac,** (salt and pepper), **len-den,** (giving and taking, dealings). Compare Beng. **mashá-máchí,** mosquitos and flies, Punj. **láṛá-láṛí,** bride, and bridegroom, etc.; or a large number of descriptive compounds, **mahápáp,** great sin, **mahárâj,** great king, **par'meshvar,** the Supreme Being, **nil'gáy,** the antelope, **adh'marâ,** half dead, **khaṛí boli,** a standard

language, **vindhya parvat,** the Vindhya Mountain, **kusap'ná,** a bad dream, **ráj'haṁs,** the king goose; Beng. **ṭhákur'dádá,** grandfather.

Or, a number of adverbial and adjectival compounds, **pratidin,** everyday, **apriya,** unlovable, **ámaraṇ,** till death, **yathášhakti,** according to power. Compare Bengali **dar'páká,** half ripe, L. **bi-lā̃k, (be + láyak),** incompetent.

Or, pronominal compounds, **jo koí,** whoever, **har koí,** everyone, **ũr koí,** another, **jo kuch,** whatever, **sab kuch,** the whole,

Or, some adjectival compounds **do-tín,** two or three, **kálá-syáh,** jet-black.

ELLIPTICAL COMPOUNDS. Some compounds form single appellations and the elements thereof do not convey a complete sense by themselves. They are, so to say, condensed and elliptical expressions.

These formations have been made in two ways, namely—

A. A phrase or even a sentence actually existing in the language may be shortened to a compound. or two prominent semantemes by the ellipsis of any number of positional words which may stand before, between or (and) after them may coalesce.

Examples—

(a) Ellipsis of postpositional words intervening between the two prominent semantemes—

se in **man'máná,** i.e. as desired by one's heart, **kapaṛ'chán,** i.e. strained by cloth, **guṇ'hín,** i.e. deprived of qualities, **desh'nikálá,** i.e. banishment from the country.

ke liye in **desh-bhakti** i.e. devotion for one's country, **rasoí-ghar,** house for cooking (kitchen), **rokaṛ-bahí,** a book for cash account.

ká in **vidyábhyás,** practice of education, **ghuṛ'dauṛ,** race of horses, **rám'kahání,** story of Rama.

meṁ in **prem'magna,** absorbed in love, **kalápravíṇ,** expert in art.

par in **áp-bítí (ap'ne úpar jo bítí),** autobiography.

ko in **svargaprápta,** one who has attained salvation, **jeb' kat'rá,** one who cuts others, pockets.

Compare Bengali, **khái-kharac,** expenses for food. Compare also H. **áy'kar,** tax on income.

(b) Ellipsis of any other relational words between them—

dahí-baṛá = **dahí meṅ ḍúbá huá baṛá,** a ball of pulse put in curd.

pan'cakkí = **pání se cal'ne válí cakkí,** a mill working with the help of water.

guṛambá = **guṛ meṅ ubálá huá ám,** mango boiled in sugar.

jeb-ghaṛí = **jeb meṅ rakh'ne kí ghaṛí,** a watch to be put in the pocket.

ság-pát = **ság patte ãr anya padártha,** vegetables, fruits and other things.

Compare Bengali **palánna,** meal mixed with meat, **ṭoná-pákhá,** a fan working by magic, Mar. **jhal'khí,** water heated in the sun.

(c) Ellipsis of words following or preceding them—

kan'phaṭá = **kán phaṭá hãi jis'ká,** a person whose ear is cut; Beng. **kán'kaṭ.**

haṅs'mukh = **haṅs'tá mukh hãi jis'ká,** a person who has a smiling face.

bárah'siṅgá = **bárah siṅg ho játe hãiṅ jis hiran ke,** a deer which has twelve horns.

Compare Bengali **lej'káṭá,** an animal having its tail cut.

(d) Ellipsis of words between, before and after them—

candramukhí = **cáṅd ke se mukh válí,** a woman having a face as beautiful as that of the moon.

kokil'kaṅṭhí = **koyal ke kaṅṭh ke samán míṭhá hãi kaṅṭh jis'ká voh strí,** lady who has voice as sweet as that of a cuckoo.

B. Secondly, a large number of objects and ideas are given names of this type. When we see a new object, or experience a new idea or feeling, we start with analysing it in the known terms. Hence many of our terms including also translated and technical terms are compounds. We see a plant and are at once attracted by its flowers which we imagine as standing with folded hands and name it **kar'joṛí.** We see a glow-worm and think that it is an insect shining like a diamond and name it **kiṭ'maṇi.** We come across a root which is as sweet as sugar and call it **shakkar'kandí.** At the sight of a bird busy knocking at wood with its beak, we call it **kaṭh'phoṛá.** Similar formations are **nãin'sukh** (lit. that gives pleasure to the eyes), a cloth, **phul'jhaṛí** (lit. one that showers flowers), sparkler, **nak'caṛhá** (one whose nose is raised,) angry, **ras'gullá** (a ball of juice), a sweetmeat, **mor'paákhí** (something

like the feathers of a peacock), a kind of boat.

Note how new terms are being coined in modern Hindi and other Modern Indian languages.

mánavíkaraṇ, personification
gurutvákarṣaṇ, gravitation
yaṁtravidyá, mechanism
shastrop'cár, operation
shabdárthavicár, Semantics
vishvakosh, Encyclopaedia
rúp'váṇi, talkie
astravarjan, disarmament
kroḍ'patra, additional sheet
káryakram, agenda
cal'citra, movie.
ajáyab'ghar, jádúghar, (in Bengal and Bihar), museum
sharír'shástra, Physiology
nikhát'dravya, fossils
bháṣávijñyán, Linguistics
samáj'vád, Socialism
vishvavidyálay, University
betár, wireless
ek'náyakatva, dictatorship
vandíshivir, detention camp

These names reveal interesting facts about the psychological analysis of a nation. What is a single name for one nation may be a compound term for another. Just as any other name is arbitrary and not fully expressive of all the attributes of an object, so also is the compound.

The same analytical thinking is responsible for a large number of poetical names of objects which the poet's imagination dissolves. Although originally intended to convey some special characteristics of such objects, these Sanskrit names have become as conventional and synonymous as the real names.

God = **paramátmá,** the Supreme Being, **sarveshvar,** the lord of all.
Shiva = **pashupati,** the lord of beings, **níl'kaṁṭh,** one with blue throat.
The sun = **prabhákar,** the lighter, **din'kar,** the day-maker.
Evening = **dináṁt,** end of the day, **godhúli,** time of cows raising dust.
Week = **saptáh,** seven days, Coll. H. **aṭh'várá,** eight days.
Earth = **vasundhará,** one that bears the wealth of minerals, **acalá,** unshakable.
Turnip = **gol'gájar,** round carrot, **ḍiṅḍ'rí modak,** vegetable sweetmeat.
Lemon = **amlasár,** one having sour taste, **jaṁtumárí,** one that kills animals, etc., etc.

EVOLVED MEANING. The whole group, as such, can develop its meaning in a manner, or to a degree, not shared by the component parts—

mahávat (mahámátra, a big officer), elephant-driver.
ráut (rájadúta, rájaputra, royal messenger), a caste.
tipáí (tín + páí, three-footed), a small table.
motiyábiṅd, lit. a drop of pearl, cataract.
Skt. **páṇḍulipi** (pale script), manuscript.
pañca kalyáṇ (lit. five blessings), a horse which has its hoofs and forehead white.
lál'pílá (red and yellow), angry.
tín-terah (three and thirteen), scattered.
das ek (ten and one), about ten.
choṭá baṛá (big and small), every one.

Compare Punj. **kálí cuátí** (a black burnt-wood), a mischievous fellow, **sir'saṛá** (one with burnt head), a drudge.

According to some Sanskrit grammarians, including Jagadísha, the component parts in a true compound must cease to retain their individual meanings, and give rise to only one united sense. A compound, according to the author of the Vaiyákaraṇa Bhúṣaṇa, is grammatically inadmissible in those cases where padas (words) are so related to each other that they cannot give rise to any special signification.

The meaning of a compound, sometimes, becomes so conventional and national, that it becomes impossible for a foreigner to understand its meaning without first knowing the whole story of the compound.

Examples—

Skt. **súryatanayá** = (lit. the daughter of the sun), the Yamuna river.
pañcáṅga = (five parts), a calendar.
makaradhvaja = (alligator-flagged), cupid.
H. **nauratna** = (lit. nine jewels), the nine great men of the Gupta age.
ghaṛí-diyá = a pitcher and an earthen lamp placed near a dying man.
put'líghar = (lit. house of puppets), cloth factory.
pichal'páí = (lit. one with inverted feet), a witch.

Compare Mar. **kál-toṅḍyá** (one with a black mouth), luckless.

H. **kál'muṅhá,** has the same meaning. Beng. **jádúghar,** (magic house), museum, Punjabi Gargaj phrases, **lakh'netrá** (one having a hundred thousand eyes), one-eyed, **rám'ráj** (the state of Rama), forest, **mukh'máj'ṇí** (mouth cleaner), tooth-brush, **paṅj ish'nán** (five baths), washing the face only.

Páṇini rightly observes (I. 2.56) that the meaning of a compound is not fixed by grammatical rules but by usage and idiom.

Compare—

ráj'mahal is the King's palace, and **ráj'márga** is the public road.

nak'ṭá is one whose nose is cut off, and **gaṅṭh'kaṭá** is one who picks others' pockets.

duanní is a two-anna coin, **cauráhá** is the meeting place of four roads.

máṅbáp means 'mother and father', but **gurubhái** is 'a brother on the side of a common Guru'.

teṅtís is 'three and thirty', while **tín'cár** is 'three or four'.

Skt. **candramukha** means 'moon-like face', and **guhámukha** means the 'entrance to the cave' and **gomukha** is 'a hole in a wall made by a thief'.

triloki means 'the three worlds', but **pañcavaṭi** means 'a place where there are five banyan trees.'

saptáha means 'a period of seven days' and **naváha** means 'the reading of a holy book for nine days.'

DISTINCTION OF COMPOUNDED AND UNCOMPOUNDED FORMS. The view of Sanskrit authorities, like Jagad'sha, that a compound gives a unity of semantic sense different from its component parts, is further confirmed by comparing the meanings of the compounded and uncompounded forms below—

mámásasur, wife's uncle	**mámá ká sasur,** uncle's father-in-law.
mom'batti, candle	**mom ki batti,** a stick of wax.
kaṭh'báp, stepfather	**káṭh ká báp,** a wooden father (toy).
kaṭh'kelá, a tasteless banana	**káṭh ká kelá,** a wooden banana.
ghoṛánas, a large vein near the heal	**ghoṛe ki nas,** vein of a horse.

pán'pattá, an ordinary present **pán ká pattá,** betel-leaf.
háthípáṅv, a disease **háthí ká páṅv,** the foot of an elephant.
bhaunár'kalí, an ornament **bhaunrá aur kalí,** a bee and a bud.
pañjáb, the Punjab **páṅc áb,** five waters.
lál'pílá, angry **lál aur pílá,** red and yellow.

Compare Mar.

kál'márjár, a pole cat **kálá márjár,** any black cat.
kál'toṇḍyá, luckless **kál toṇḍá,** black face.
S. **karani ṭruṭro,** hand-broken **karani jo ṭruṭro,** broken of hands (lazy),
Punj. **ciṭ'sirá,** an old man with gray hair **ciṭṭá sir,** gray head.
Skt. **digdarshana,** specimen **dishám darshana,** sight of the quarters.

OBSOLESCENCE. The component parts may become obsolete as separate words and in such cases it becomes difficult to see the compounded nature of the term as Skt. **ku** (earth), in H. **kujjá,** an earthen pot, **kudál,** a kind of spade, lit. an earth-digger, or Skt. **raṅgabhúmi** is a dramatic stage, although **raṅga** is no longer used in this sense, and Skt. **rasátala** is the nether regions, **rasá** being no more used to mean 'earth'.

SINGLE WORDS. Sometimes the compounds develope into a form which is apparently a single word, but which, when phonologically analysed, reveals a compound.

bagúlá = **báu**+**golá,** whirlwind.
khaṛáṅv = **káṭh**+**páṅv,** wooden slippers.
phulel = **phúl**+**tel,** flower-oil.
cauríṭhá = **cáur**+**piṭhá,** ground rice.
kaṭhauṭá = **káṭh**+**pátra,** wooden pot.
garáṅv = Skt. **gala**+**dáma,** neck rope.
etc. etc.

Compare Mar., Punj. **unhálá** < **uṣṇakálah,** hot weather, Punj. **hanerá** < **andhakára,** darkness.

bhaṇíyá, H. **bah'noí** < **bhaginípati,** sister's husband.
L. **darokhá** < Skt. **díparakṣakah,** a lampstand.

Beng. **ghoṛárú** < Skt. **ghoṭakarúpa,** a kind of deer.

AMBIGUITY. Sometimes the compound has an ambiguous meaning. Because, first, there is no difference of gender and number, and secondly, the compound may be interpreted in a number of ways.

cíṛímár may mean 'one who killed a bird', or 'one who kills birds.

ráj'puruṣ may mean 'a man of the king', or 'a man of the kings,' or 'a queen's man'.

hath'kaṛí may mean 'chain for one hand', or 'a chain for both hands.'

satyavrat may mean 'truth and vow', 'a true vow', 'a vow of truthfulness', or 'one who has taken the vow of truthfulness.'

rám'ráj may mean 'Rama's government', or 'a government like that of Rama'.

But it may be noted that in most cases convention has restricted the use of the compound in a particular sense. See page 84.

5. ii. Repetitions.

5. ii(a). Various Meanings.

Words and meanings are extended and modified not only by prefixes, suffixes, infixes, phonetic modifications and compounds, but also by repetitions. The repetition of words has considerable power. The force differs with different words and in different sentences. It may imply—

(1) Distribution, as in—

tín tín rupaye, three rupees each

ghar ghar meṅ, in every house

jahán jahán, at every place

jo jo, every person who

ap'ne ap'ne, respective

naye naye sukh, every kind of new hapiness.

(2) Distinction, as in—

phúl phúl cun lo, i.e. flowers as distinguished from other stuff.

choṭe choṭe laṛ'ke, small boys as distinguished from big boys.

(3) Variety, as in—

desh desh ke rájá, *kings of* various countries.
kyá kyá, what various things.
acche acche kap'ṛe, various kinds of good clothes.

(4) Intensity, as in—

hare hare patte, comparatively green leaves
pás pás, quite near
kuch kuch, quite
dhíre dhíre, very slowly
ṭhík ṭhík, very rightly
bacá bacá kar, saving very well
áiye áiye, please do come
cal cal, get away
váh váh denotes great joy
háy háy shows intense pain or sorrow.

(5) Reciprocity, as in—

bhāī bhāī ká prem, love of a brother for his brother.

(6) Adverbial sense of manner, as in—

páṅv páṅv cal'ná, to walk step by step
pánti pánti, in rows
sáf sáf, clearly
ṭhík ṭhík, rightly.

(7) Gradual movement, as in—

hote hote, gradually
jit'ná jit'ná...it'ná it'ná, as... so.

(8) Continuance, as in—

saṛak ke kináre kináre, along the road side.
cal'te cal'te, walking continuously.
bándhe bándhe, being tied for a long time.

(9) Repetition of an action, as in—

kar'te kar'te nipuṇ ho gayá, by doing repeatedly, he became an expert.
káṭ káṭ girá diye, after cutting again and again.

Sounds repeated may, sometimes, make sensible onomatopoetic words, as **khaṭ-khaṭ, giṛ'giṛáná, baṛ'baṛáná, phaṛ'phaṛá, bhaṛ'bhaṛ, bhas'bhasá,** etc.

5. ii(b). Developed Meaning.

Some repetitions give especially developed meanings, as—

rám rám !, salutations
khaṛe khaṛe, at once.
koí koí, a few
tú tú māīṅ māīṅ, quarrel

kab kab—seldom **bāṭhe bāṭhe**—without effort.

Some repetitions have more than one sense.
Examples—

choṭe choṭe bacce may imply distribution, classification or intensity.

kahán kahán may imply distribution or variety.

cor cor may mean every thief or shouts of 'thief'.

kar'te kar'te may indicate continuance or repetition of an action.

THE FORCE OF **hí, ká** (including also **ke** and **kí**), **se, na,** when they intervene in some cases between repetition, is to be noted.

hí gives intensive force, as in—

pás hí pás, very near
man hí man, in the very heart of his heart
acchá hí haí, tolerably good
áp hí áp, himself only
dukh hí dukh, nothing but misery
gayá hí gayá jáno, he is gone, as if.

ká shows totality, as in—

ghar ke ghar, all the houses
jhuṇḍ ke jhuṇḍ the whole groups
sab ká sab, whole of it
do ke do, all the two
lene ke dene, loss in stead of gain, difficulties.

se between adjectives denotes the superlative degree and between other words it shows difference, instrumentality, and so on, as in—**acche se acchá,** best of all, **choṭe se choṭá,** smallest of all, **kyá se kyá,** unexpectedly different, **íṅṭ se íṅṭ bajá dí,** destroyed.

na adds a sense of indefiniteness and choice, as in—

koí na koí, some one or the other,
kuch na kuch, some thing or the other,
ek na ek, one or the other.

The above observations and examples may be compared with those about Bengali given in Dr. Tagore's Banglá Shabda Tattva, pp. 37-42.

It may also be noted that in this respect Indian languages, are, perhaps, semantically better off and, in a way, richer in expression than English. The clarity and force suggested by repetition is certainly lacking in the English translation.

5. iii. Echo-Words and Intensives.

ECHO-WORDS. The Echo-words or Expletives generally express the meaning 'et cetra' or 'things like that', as in—

ciṭṭhí-iṭṭhí, letter, telegram and other things like them, **miṭhái-viṭhái,** sweetmeat et cetra, **ád'mí-ud'mí,** man, woman, child etc., **mej-vej,** table and other things like that, **ás-pás,** all around.

We do not quite agree with Dr. B. R. Saxena that more often an echo-word "is meaningless and appears to give to the speaker only a facility in his current of speech" (Awadhi, p. 323). We have studied about 300 echo-words in different contexts and found them generally definitely significative. If the speaker says **"koí mej haĩ ?"** (Is there any table here ?), he would not be satisfied with any other thing. But if he says, **koí mej-vej haĩ ?** he can be shown a tea-poy, and that would satisfy his need.

An echo-word adds an effect, e.g. **vahán koí ád'mí nahíń** means there is no man there, there might be women, children or cattle, but **vahán koí ád'mí ud'mí nahíń** means that there is no human being at all.

In a large number of combinations, an echo-word serves as an intensive. Compare **cup'cáp,** very silent, **bhíṛ bháṛ,** great crowds, **khoj kháj,** complete search, **bándh búndh kar,** having tied and packed properly, **kát kúṭ kar,** after cutting fully, **dekh bhál lo,** see carefully, **aṛos paṛos,** the whole neighbourhood, **naṅgá maṅgá,** very naked.

Also compare **pás,** near, and **ás pás,** all around; **sám'ne,** in front, and **ám'ne sám'ne,** face to face; **pár,** the other side, and **ár pár,** from one side to another.

INTENSIVES. Intensives are of various forms and combinations but that is the concern of a grammarian. We have already noted how echo-words and repetitions add intensity. Further examples of intensification of meaning are—

khulam khulá, very open, public	**lál surkha,** very red
alag thalag, quite separate	**phak uj'lá,** very clean
gílá páni, very wet	**phaṭá puráná,** very old
shor gul, great noise	**subah savere,** early in the morning

etc., etc.

III

POLYSEMY

III

POLYSEMY

1. CLASSIFICATION

(i) MULTIPLICITY OF MEANINGS.

(a) MONOSEMY — THE FACT OF POLYSEMY — RADIATION — POLYSEMY A QUESTION OF CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT — EXAMPLES.

(b) CAUSES OF POLYNYMY—MENTAL CONVENIENCE — CULTURAL NEEDS — TRANSFERENCE OF MEANING — ATTRIBUTIVE APPLICATIONS — ANALOGY AND FIGURE — POETRICAL PLEONASMS — ABRIDGMENT — GRAMMATICAL USES — DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENTS — CONSERVATISM.

(ii) HOMONYMY.

INHERITED — PHONOLOGICAL — TSM. AND TBH. — FOREIGN — MIXTURES — FOLK ETYMOLOGIES — POETRICAL AND GRAMMATICAL HOMONYMS.

(iii) APPARENT HOMONYMS.

(iv) PARONYMS.

We have known how words grow semantically. Every one who has used a dictionary realizes that most words have several meanings. Such words are of two kinds—

III

(1) Words which have identical sounds and common etymology. The word is the same, historically as well as phonetically, but it has a variety of meanings grown out of the primary meaning. The word, as it were, shoots forth sub-meanings, as a branch shoots forth twigs. Such words may be called "Polynyms".

Examples—

ásan—sitting posture, seat, residence, elephant's shoulder.

utár'ná—to bring down, to draw, to trace, to detach, to pluck, to put off (clothes), to accommodate, to sacrifice.

jal'ná—to burn, to be jealous, to feel miserable.

cál—gait, way, conduct, custom, trick.

gáṅṭh—knot, joint, bundle.

pañc—five, a collection of five, an assembly of five aldermen, a chief, a representative of the public, the public.

(2) Words which correspond in sound but differ in meaning and derivation, such phonetic convergence being purely accidental. In fact they are different words, and naturally enough are excluded by Steinthal. Though semantically widely divergent and absolutely unrelated, they are identical in sound, and whoever hears such a combination of sounds spoken without any connection, is unable to recognise which of the significations inherent in the word is in the mind of the speaker. Such words are called "Homonyms".

Examples—

tiyá, three of cards (< Skt. **trtíyá**), woman, (< Skt. **strí**).

mel, agreement (from **mil'ná**), mail train (Eng.).

gayá, went, name of a holy place.

tál, palm tree (**tára**), rhythm, tank, (**tálá**b).

pír, pain (< Skt. **píḍá**), a sage, (Persian **pír,** old).

gaj, elephant (Skt.), a yard, (Per. **gaz**).

1. i(a). Multiplicity of Meanings.

MONOSEMY. Attempts have been made as by Steinthal*, to prove that there are no such things as words with several significations. Vendryes (Language, pp. 177 ff) also thinks that there is no such problem as plurality of meaning. "When we say that one

*Zschr f. Volkerpsych, i, 426.

word may mean several things, we are in a sense, the dupes of an illusion. Among the diverse meanings a word possesses, the only one that will emerge into consciousness is the one determined by the context. All the others are abolished, extinguished, non-existent. This is true even of words whose signification appears to be firmly established." He adds: "To admit that these words may have a fundamental meaning and secondary meanings derived from this is to state the problem from the historical point of view.

"Words have no meaning except in sentences. The speaker and the listener really recognise two different words in these two different uses. The two words are as different as any words can well be. In current usage a word has only one meaning at a time."

Vendryes concludes that if "there are two or three outstanding irreducible meanings of a word, then these two words must be taken as separate words."

The poeticians in India have also believed that the meaning of every word, in the strict sense of the term (shakti), is only one, all other meanings being only implications (lakṣaṇá). With this view modern Logic also agrees, for the meaning in its strict sense is called here denotation, while meaning in its loose sense is called connotation. "A new acceptation is equivalent to a new word", says Breal. (Note the exhaustive treatment of Denotation and Connotation in Welton's Logic).

The Indian grammarians also state that a word does not simultaneously express more than one meaning.* Each time a word is used in a different sense, it serves practically as an altogether new word, though the outward form is the same.

THE FACT OF POLYSEMY. Whether these words should be taken as one or as so many different units is a question which stands apart from the fact that words, in the course of their history, develop a number of meanings, related one to the other.† The divergent meanings of a word can all be brought to some one point from which, immediately or mediately, they proceed.

kharā kar'nā has come to mean to raise, to station, to realise,

---

* sakrduccaritah shabdah sakrdevártham vidhatte, yaugpadya-matikramya paryáye vyatiṣṭhate—Vákyapadiya.

† ekashca shabdah bahvarthah.—(*M.B.*) *Also see Nirukta, IV.*

to pitch (a tent), to stop, to set up, to place erect, to procure a fictitious person, to build. They can all be traced to the primary meaning of **khaṛá kar'ná,** namely, to cause to stand. **dam** means life, moment, the stewing over a slow fire. These are apparently unrelated significations but when we try to understand them with reference to the original meaning of **dam** (i.e. breath), they become clear.

In a large number of cases it is impossible to recognise, without some historical knowledge, the original connection between the various significations. **tár** is a string of a musical instrument and a telegram. Who could understand the relationship between the two, without knowing that in one case the original meaning of **tár,** wire, has been specialized professionally and in the other case it is transferred.

The two meanings of **jhárá** i.e. stool and incantation, are altogether unrelated, but they can be explained through **jhár'ná,** to sweep ; hence **jhárá,** stool, purges the stomach, and **jhárá,** incantation, sweeps away the evil.

This is especially so when the primary meaning, or the medial meaning, has disappeard in **char,** the shaft of a carriage, on the one hand, and a sale house, a gambling house, on the other. One can understand the possible connection between a sale house and a gambling house, but it is impossible to connect them with the shaft of a carriage. It appears that the meaning 'shaft of a carriage' was first transferred to the 'carriage', which was transferred to a 'house' and the latter was specialized to mean "a sale house", and then 'a gambling house'. Similarly, the two meanings of **ḍab,** viz., leather with which oil pots are made, and 'a bag', or 'a pocket', show that **ḍab,** must have originally meant 'leather', which was first specialised and then transferred to the article made of that material and consequently generalised.

Thus we can reconstruct meanings as we can reconstruct the sounds of words phonologically for which see Appendices to Dr. R. L. Turner's Nepali Dictionary.

RADIATION. Everybody has envied the magician's talent of being in two places at once. Words, in the development of their meanings, seem to have mastered the trick. **cúnká,** for example, is almost ubiquitous in its special sense. The word accomplishes the feat of

being in eleven more or less widely separated places at the same time without ceasing to hold its original position—its sense of "four-sided", at the centre; and the secondary meanings radiate out of it in every direction like rays. Each is independent of the rest.

Compare—

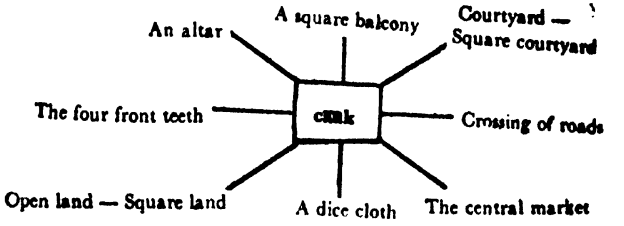

Figure 1.

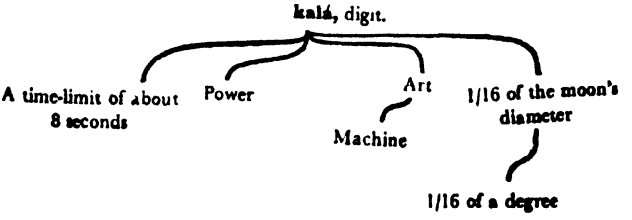

Figure 2.

Thus, any derived meaning may become the source of one or more further derivations, and by and by a succession of radiations proceeds.

In the next figure the meanings in the bottom are distinctly subordinate. If we consider the possibility of connecting **cak'lá** with **cmk** as the result of phonetic-semantic modification (see pp. 70 ff.), the arrangement of meanings would take a different form. It is, then, possible that the meaning 'square land' of **cmk** may have formed a nucleus for new radiations detailed under **cak'lá.**

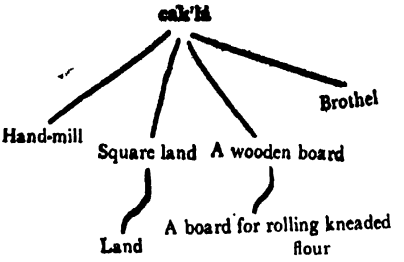

Figure 3.

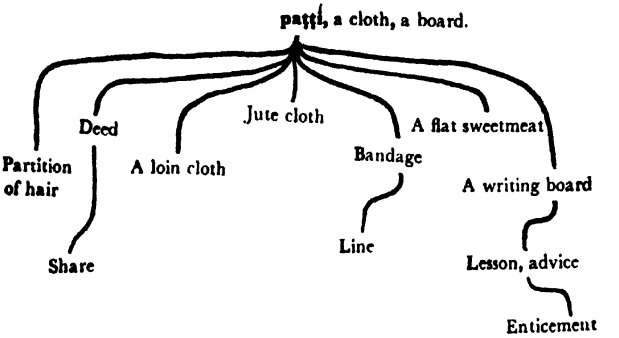

Figure 4.

Meanings of individual words are thus increasing. Every speaker is constantly making new specialized applications of words, which, derived from the same basal idea, come to possess several meanings, often widely different, by more or less intricate specializations and generalizations. No dictionary can ever register a tithe of them.

Sometimes, intermediary meanings may be missing and a semantician has to reconstruct such meanings in order to provide a link. For instance, in the last figure the meaning 'bandage' may have given rise to 'a striped bandage', from which 'stripe' or 'line' should naturally proceed.

On the basis of such sequences of meanings, it is possible, and also essential, for a lexicographer to arrange meanings in the order of their development, and establish connections where they appear far-fetched and untenable.

POLYSEMY A QUESTION OF CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT. If a word had only one fixed and unchanging meaning, our powers of expression would be very limited in comparison with the complexity of thought. In order to give expression to his inner thoughts, which grow as civilization grows, man must either increase the stock of words or develop the significations of the existing words. We have shown in the last chapter that it is easier and more natural for language to modify words by affixes or to modify the sense of these existing words, than to create altogether new words. Pâtanjali believes,* as does Tucker in modern times, that language does not create new words. In a way, polysemy is a sign of linguistic impoverishment ; the language having failed to create new symbols for new ideas uses the same ones in different senses.† But it is natural that when a word becomes 'eloquent', it should extend its meanings. The evolution of meaning, in this way, is a continual process and it involves the least conscious method. The different senses of a word show different stages of cultural development. They represent the history of allied ideas. In proportion as a civilization gains in variety and in richness, the occupations, the acts and the interests of which the society is composed are divided among different groups of men. Neither the state of mind nor the trend of activity is the same in the cases of priest, soldier, politician, artist, merchant and farmer. Though they have inherited the same language, their words become, in each case, coloured with a distinct shade, which pervades and finally adheres to them. Habit, surroundings and, in fact, the whole ambient atmosphere determines the meaning of the word and corrects its too general signification.

The word **mûl** which comes from agriculture is equally connected with philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, economics, philology, etc. It may mean 'root', 'first cause', 'capital', 'price', 'original text', etc. **dhâtu** means God, element, semen, vitality, metal, relic (for Buddhists), etc.

There is one other important factor in polynymy which shows that there is a cultural feature of language. Polynymy, on the whole, is not a characteristic of language proper, the so-called colloquial language, but an incident of literature, poetic and technical.

*M.B. Vol. I, p. 7 (*Kielhorn edition*).
†*Breal, p. 285.*

Literature, unable to coin new words, or even to modify existing ones, manipulates the words of language in various new senses which are given by the context. For, when language is denuded of literature and is studied from a strictly realistic point of view, occurrences of polysemy appear almost inappreciable.*

If the plurality of meaning is considered to be a sign of civilization, Hindi may reasonably claim to be the language of a very highly cultured people. A reference to the Hindi Shabda Ságar will show that quite a good number of words have as many as twenty and even more significations; vide articles under **aṅg, kuṅḍ, karaṇ, kaṭ'rá, káṭ'ná, kumbha, kaṛá, kosh, kháná, cal'ná, jal'ná, mil'ná, golá, níl, chúṭ'ná, cheníṭip, ḍáṅṛ, caṛháná, chúná, bhar'ná,** etc. **kalá** has 64 meaning-nuances.

1. i(b). Causes af Polynymy.

In tracing the causes of polynymy, only brief references would be made, as they are treated at length in later chapters, especially those on "Causes of Variations", and "Important Variations".

MENTAL CONVENIENCE. The main and the most important cause of polynymy is the fact that we cannot have an unlimited number of words for an infinite number of ideas, objects and actions. Our memory has its own limitations. If we were to have a word for every single object, act or quality, our memory would collapse under the burden. Elasticity of meaning makes our words handy and enhances their practical value. Arabic may have two hundred and more words for the camel and some South American languages may have numerous words for many other objects and ideas; but they must be poor, indeed, in other spheres. Then, these words do not naturally form the current vocabulary of any single speaker. The evolution of meaning is a sign of the richness of thought. It is easier to remember significations by association, the different meanings associated one with another, than to learn isolated units. Quite a good number of words get their meanings extended to related acts or objects. **patra,** a leaf, came to be used for a letter

**Polysemy in slang and idiom is also the result of literary moods.*

for which the material used in ancient India was a leaf, later for a paper and very recently for a newspaper. **kāṇṭā,** a thorn, is used for a fish bone, a fishing hook, the tongue of a balance, the balance itself, the spine, a fork, a spur, Guj. the hand of a watch, the sting, Punj. an ornament, and so on. The associations are clear.

CULTURAL NEEDS. It has been noted already that meanings differ with different trades and professions. And as every individual has to deal with these specialists, such words and their various meanings become the common property. The confectioner, the farmer, and the mason have different meanings of **chāṇkā,** i. e. a netted basket, a mouth-cover for cattle, a lattice. **cumkī** is a safe for victuals in the kitchen, a chair in the drawing room, an arch-gate in the temple, a stage in journey, a guard's post in the army, a police station in the civil department, an ornament with goldsmiths, a band of musicians or pilgrims in the Punjab, etc. **gāṛī** is a cart, a carriage, a train, a car, a lorry, a bicycle, a perambulator, with various people using a particular vehicle. **koṭhī** is a bungalow, a granary, a factory, the womb, the ferrule of a scabbard, the chamber of a gun, a crib, a large basket, an earthen vessel, etc. The same also means 'the Residency', 'a kind of firework' in Gujrat and 'the shaft of a well' and 'a closet' in the Punjab. **carkhī** is a wheel (Per. **carxa**), a spinning wheel, a cotton ginning roller, a bobbin, a pulley for drawing water from the well and so on.

TRANSFERENCE OF MEANING. By similar transferences of meaning, a word is applicable to more than one object, notion or action. Thus, *either*

(a) the applicability of meaning is wide and comes to be narrowed, as in **ṭaṭṭī,** a shelter, a matted shutter, a latrine; **tal** (Punj. **talā**), bottom, the bottom (sole) of the foot; **panth,** way, a religious sect; **kanī** (Punj. **kaṇī**), a particle, a particle of rice, an uncooked grain of rice; *or*

(b) the applicability is widened and becomes general, as in **navābī,** the life of a Nawāb, luxury; **kar'balā,** the name of a place where Husain was killed, a desolate land, the place where *tazias* are buried, and, in the Punjab, a shrine, a graveyard; **bhān'matī,** Raja Bhoja's daughter who was a great conjuror, an actress or a female juggler, and, in the Punjab, a juggler of either sex; *or*

(c) the same word may express more than one allied meaning, as **prasád,** obligation, food; **pahuńc,** reach, a receipt; **shíshá,** glass, a mirror; **sirohí,** name of a place, a sword.

ATTRIBUTIVE APPLICATIONS. Several words are originally vague in their meaning, and speakers may use them in various shades. This is particularly true in the case of adjectives and adjectival nouns.

Compare—

pakká < Skt. **pakva,** cooked, in **pakká phal,** ripe fruit, **pakká raṅg,** fast colour, **pakká makán,** bricked house, **pakkí rasoí,** food cooked in butter, **pakká pání,** perennial water, **pakká kágaz,** a permanent document, **pakkí bát,** fixed matter, **pakká ád'mí,** a strong man.

acchá, as Eng. 'good', may mean fine, nice, honest, gentle, wise, decent, etc.

jív, a being, an insect, an animal, man, etc.

burái, badness, wickedness, mischief, dishonesty, evil, etc.

Children, savages and primitive people make a broad use of words, as **ám** may mean to them a mango, orange, guava, ball or any other round thing. **dáná** may be used for grain, corn, gram, rice, wheat, etc.

Compounds (generally) and other descriptive names may be attributive and applicable to many objects which possess that quality, as **lam'ṭaṅgá,** a stork, a stilt, and in the Punjab 'a man with long legs', 'an ant'; **púrab,** first, east, U. P., Bihar, or Bengal; **mohiní,** a woman, illusion, magic, Viṣṇu.

ANALOGY OR FIGURE. Multiplicity may be due to analogy or a figure of speech, as in—

(a) **dáná,** grain, pimple (Punj. a bead); **jug'nú,** a glow-worm, an ornament; **háṅḍí,** an earthen vessel, a shade of a lamp.

(b) **cús'ná,** to suck, to take out power, **cúr honá,** to break, to be busy; **chán'ná,** to sieve, to search; **kaṛá,** stiff, but **kaṛí dhúp,** intense heat, **kaṛá vacan,** harsh words.

POETRICAL PLEONASMS. Variations of meanings particularly increase in rhymed verse, where new meanings of words are suggested to suit a certain rythm or rhyme. **rámú** (with the suffix **-á**) would

suggest inferiority in the person, named Rama (cf. **par'sú, par'sá, paras'rám**) but in the Ramayana it is commonly used for Shri Ramchandra. **bír** in prose is simply **vír,** brave, in poetry it would also mean 'a fortunate woman'. Also note **madhumay,** (orig. full of honey), sweet, and **páṭal** (orig. pale red), colour, in—

pik kí madhumay vanshí bolí.
núc uṭhí sun aliní bholí.
aruṇ sahaj páṭal bar'sátá.
tam par mrdu parág kí rolí.

(Mahadevi Varma)

Note **bái** (wind, rheumatism) meaning 'water', from Skt. **váta** in **ati agádh ati ūtharū nadí kúp sar bái.**

(Bihari)

ABRIDGEMENT. "A very frequent cause of polysemia, which evades foresight and classification, is abridgment. It happens, for example, that of two words primitively associated, the one is suppressed. At this sudden removal the remaining term seems to change its meaning abruptly. In that case it would not be accurate to say that there was either expansion or restriction. The event which has come to pass is of a different nature. Like an heir who becomes the sole owner of a property which had previously been a joint possession, the last survivor succeeds to an entire idiom and absorbs its signification. When once the meanings of the two are combined, they thenceforward constitute a single sign. Now a sign can be cut, clipped or reduced by half, provided it is recognizable, it still fulfils its original function."—Breal.

For a detailed discussion, see the chapter on "Causes of Variations."

Examples—

kháná, to eat, to eat food, and **paṛh'ná,** to read, to read a book or lesson, may be used transitively as well as intransitively. **sádhu,** good, a good man, a mendicant; **jeṭh,** eldest, elder brother, husband's elder brother; **pariṣad,** a society, Hindi Society; **káṅgres,** Congress, A. I. Congress Committee; **sammelan,** gathering, Hindí Sáhitya Sammelan; **bháṣá,** language, Hindi; **kál,** time, death **(aṅt'kál),** Yama (God of death).

GRAMMATICAL USES. A change of Grammatical function or

position generally leads to new meanings. This forms the subject of a separate chapter in this treatise.

Examples—

kháná, in **kháná paṛegá** as verb 'to eat', **kháná paká lo** as noun 'meal'.

áp in **māīń áp** (myself), **áp caleń** (you), **Lálá Dhaní Rám acche ád'mí hāīń, áp** (he) **ko in bátoń se sarokár nahíń.**

diyá in **māīńne use rupayá diyá** (gave), **māīńne rupayá pheńk diyá** (away).

par in **is súc'ná par māīń cal paṛá,** (after) and **is kí saphál'tá par vah jal uṭhá,** (on account of).

bahut in **bahut dúdh** (much), **bahut ád'mí** (many).

khoj in **us'kí khoj karo** in feminine gender—'search'; **is'ká khoj nahíń rahá** in masculine gender—'trace'.

it'ne in **it'ne ghar** (so many houses), **it'ne bímár rahe** (so much), **it'ne meń** (in the meantime).

tak in **cár kos tak** (upto) and **dekhá tak nahíń** (even).

áge in **ghar ke áge** (front), **ghar se áge** (further).

ul'ṭá in **ul'ṭá karo** (turn down), **ṭápú ká ul'ṭá** (opposite) **jhíl hāī.**

Compare Punj. **cāūthá** in **cāūthá ghar,** fourth house (adj.), **aj cāūṭhá hāī,** to-day is the fourth mourning day (n.); **khaṭṭí** (n.), earning, (adj.) sour; or Beng. **ṭáná** (n.), warp, **ṭáná** (vb.), to pull; or Mar. **kaṭṭá** (n.), beheading, **kaṭṭá** (adj.), staunch.

DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENTS. Dialects and cognate languages show different developments of the same original word, and sometimes such meanings are accepted in the standard language in all their variety.

ṭhákur, originally, 'god', or 'God', is used for Rájpúts in Paháṛi, Rájá in Central India, Brahmin cooks in Bengal, Kshatriyas in east U. P. and Bihar, Barbers in west U. P.

báṛí, (Skt **váṭiká**), a courtyard, a garden, is used for 'a house' in Bengal, 'a street' in Bombay, 'a field' in the Punjab.

ghoṛí (orig. a mare), a machine for making macaroni (in U. P.), a knight in chess (in Gujrat), a woman of girlish manner (in Bombay), the bridge of a violin (in the Punjab), wooden pincers used in circumcision (in Lahndi), etc.

CONSERVATISM. Embracing all the causes which create multiplicity of meaning is the fact that the addition of a new signification in no way injures the original meaning. When a meaning developes and forms different associations, the primary meaning still remains generally intact, and around it keep, ever growing in number, the various members of the family.

Even such words, as have practically given up their connection with the original sense in common speech or literature, retain that sense in isolated compounds. Thus, **pashu,** in common speech, means 'animal'. The original meaning is, however, maintained in **pashupati,** the lord of souls conceived as cows in charge of a herdsman. **mrg** in Hindi means 'deer' but the original sense of 'animal' or 'beast' is retained in **mrg'ráj,** lion, the king of beasts. Similarly the original meaning of **pati,** lord or chief, now 'husband', may be noted in **sabhápati,** president, and **dal'pati** commander.

1. ii. Homonyms.

In the last section we considered the case of a polysemantic word which was originally monosemantic. Modern Hindi contains some six hundred pairs (and sometimes groups) of words identical in sound and spelling but widely differing in origin and meaning. They are called Homonyms. In fact, as Steinthal and Vendryes think, polynymous words as seperate units are also, in effect, homonymous. **tár** meaning 'wire' and **tár** meaning 'telegram' should be considered as two words. But it has to be remembered that such polynymous words are semantically closely related. The homonyms form a different semantic class. They are absolutely unrelated in meaning and only phonetically homonymous. They are separate units, indeed.

There is no such distinction in Hindi as that between homographs (words spelt alike) and homophones (words sounding alike but spelt differently). All homophones are homographs and *vice versa.*

INHERITED. The following types of homonyms may be distinguished. Quite a fair number of homonyms have come down from Sanskrit. Some of these may be of different origins but Hindi literature has inherited them directly from Classical Sanskrit.

Examples—

bál, boy, hair — **dal,** army, leaf

uttar, North, reply — **kanak,** gold, wheat, an intoxicant herb

ghan, cloud, an iron club — **pot,** child, boat

apavan, without wind or air, a garden planted near the town

astrí, a soldier (**astra,** weapon), not a woman.

PHONOLOGICAL. Phonological developments of different words may coincide at a certain stage. The number of such words is very large.

Compare—

H. **kám** <Skt. **káma,** lust, **karman,** action.

H. **bítá** <Skt. **vitastá,** a measure of length, **vyatíta,** past.

H. **bais** <Skt. **vayas,** age, and **vaishya,** a caste.

H. **ber** <Skt. **badara,** a fruit, **vára,** turn.

H. **bárí** <Skt. **váṭiká,** garden, **dvárika,** a window, **vára,** turn.

H. **khán,** eating, mine, <Skt. **khádanam** and **khání.**

H. **jaṛí,** a herb, studded, <Skt. **jaṭá** and **jaṭita.**

H. **taná,** trunk of a tree, stretched, <Skt. **tanu** and **tanita.**

H. **soná,** gold, to sleep, <Skt. **suvarṇa** and **svapna.**

H. **baṛá,** big, a ball of pulse, <Skt. **vardhita** and **vaṭakah.**

H. **baṭ'ná,** to be divided, to wind, an unguent substance, <Skt. **vaṇṭayati, vaṭṭati, udvartanam,** etc.

Compare Punj. **sat,** powder, seven, <Skt. **sattva,** and **sapta;** and **battí,** thirty two, wick, <Skt. **dvátriṅshat, vartiká.**

TSM AND TBH. The presence of tsm words in literary Hindi, side by side with the tbh has led to a number of homonymous pairs, as—

bhávaj, sister-in-law (tbh), produced from sentiment (tsm);

baṭ, twist (tbh), banyan tree (tsm);

sur, tune (tbh), god (tsm);

tal, bottom (tsm), fry (tbh);

tál, time in music (tsm), tank (tbh);

senā, army (tsm), to hatch (tbh).

FOREIGN. Sometimes two foreign words may develop to a form which coincides in sounds, as—

sáyat, time, and perhaps (Per. **sháyad,** and Ar. **sá'it**);
jabán, tongue, and youth, <(Per. **zubán,** and **jawán,** cf. Skt. **yuvánam**).

cāin, Eng. 'chain', comfort (Per.)

Homonyms of this type are not many.
Compare Punj. **bāiát,** cane, verses, (Per. **bāit,** and **bed**).

MIXTURES. Sometimes a loan word may come to have correspondence with a native word. The presence of words from various languages and dialectes in Hindi is an important cause of homonymity. Compare the English and Indo-Aryan coincidence in—

koṭ, coat, fort	**baṭan,** button, twist
búṭ, boot, gram	**mel,** mail, union
kes, case, law suit, hair	**kunāin,** quinine and bad-eyed
jún, the month of June, time, birth	**ṭál,** stall, avoiding
Punj. **káṭ,** card, cut	**phuṭ,** foot, division

Compare Persian (including Perso-Arabic) and Indo-Aryan in—

bág, garden, rein	**mál,** goods, garland
badí, evil, dark night	**mámá,** maid-servant, uncle
rás, rein, a dramatic performance	**ráy,** opinion, prince
	istrí, wife, iron
ján, life, knowledge	**phan,** art, hood of a snake
hal, solution, plough	**jará,** a little, old age.

etc., etc.

Compare—
kúcá, lane, (Per. **kúcah**), a brush <Skt. **kúrca**.
bár, trust (Ar. **a'et'bár**), door <Skt. **dvára**.

FOLK ETYMOLOGIES. Sometimes homonyms seem to be due to the lowest type of folk etymology, the instinct for making an unfamiliar word look like something familiar. Compare **sálam misrí** (cf. also Per. **sálam,** full, and **sálib misrí,** a root); **sikandar,** Alexander and signal; **bhay'vád,** reign of terror and partnership, (cf. Punj. **bháívál**); **ras'bharí,** full of juice and raspberry; **hamám dastá,** handle of a bathroom and mortar and pestle (Per. **hamámdastah,** and **hávan destah**); **hukum'dár,** an officer and sentry's challenge (who comes there?); **lát kamaṅḍal,** Lord Commander, big bucket; **an'varsiṭí,** University, Anwar's city.

POETRICAL HOMONYMS. Poetrical necessities may effect homonyms such as **gáuṅ,** village, I may sing; **joy,** who, see; **dhāy,** having run, nurse. Such examples are very common in Braj poetry.

GRAMMATICAL HOMONYMS. Grammatical developments also sometimes lead to the formation of homonyms.

Compare—

jītá, alive (pp. from **jíṅá**), conquered (past tense from **jīt'ná**).

tul'ná, comparison (n.), to be weighed (verb).

diyá, earthen lamp (Skt. **dípakah**), gave (past tense from **deṅá**).

baṭí, pill (Skt. **vaṭiká**), and twisted (pp. fem. from **baṭ'ná**).

baṅá, bridegroom (masculine from Skt. **vanitá**), made (past tense from **ban'ná**), etc.

Compare Punj. **siṭṭá,** corn-ear, thrown (from **siṭ'ṇá,** to throw); **kahí,** what sort of, spade

1. iii. Apparent Homonyms.

A kind of association springs up between words which, without being homonyms, have some accidental resemblance in form or meaning, or in both. Such an association may bring about curious changes in sound and sense. The products of folk etymology are striking examples of this phenomenon.

One word sometimes develops such apparently different meanings that its original identity becomes rather obscured, and even a difference of spelling may result. Such words are in reality polynymous words.

Compare—

daṅḍ meaning punishment and salute

artha meaning wealth and significance

nāk, nose, honour

ḍāṅr meaning stick and mound

golá, a ball, a kind of pigeon

kar, hand, tax

mahar meaning chief and porter.

Also see Concatenation.

Words which come to assume opposite meanings may also be sometimes confused as homonyms.

Examples—

míṭhá, sweet, salt (in Eastern U. P.); **bhabhút,** wealth, ashes; **máhur,** poison, sweet.

The main cause of apparent or confused homonymy is the loss of connection between the different meanings of words. By discovering the bond of connection and by tracing the missing links in the relationship of words, we are able to remove the illusion and see that words of this type are not homonyms at all.

1. iv. Paronyms.

Paronyms are words which have identity neither of sounds nor of etymology, but have a tendency to phonetic correspondence in particular localities or in the speech of particular persons.

Examples—

korá for **korá,** blank, and **koh'rá,** fog.
merá for **merá,** mine, **melá,** fair.
gadá for **gad'há,** ass, **gadá,** club, **gaddá,** cushion.
dáná for **dáná,** grain, and **dáná** (with accent on **-ná**), wise.
gaṛ'ná for **gaṛ'ná,** to be set, **gaṛh'ná,** to make.
karam for Skt. **karma,** and **krama,** order.
kathá for **kathá,** story, **katthá,** catechu.
maīdá for **maīdá,** flour, **medá,** stomach.
bálú for **bálú,** sand, **bhálú,** bear.
racá for **racá,** made, and **rcá,** Vedic hymn.
jantá for **jaṅtá,** machine or mill, **jan'tá,** public, etc.

Bad pronunciation and phonetic irregularities such as singling of a double consonant, svarabhakti, change of accent, de-aspiration, etc. turn these paronyms into homonyms.

Also compare Punjabi—

ṭap, to jump (Skt. **tarpa**), tub.
láṭ, lord, tail of a lamb (cf. **láṭh**).
kaṭṭá for **khaṭṭá,** sour, and **kaṭṭá,** calf.
báj for **báz,** hawk, and **báhaj,** without, etc.

Pathans and Kashmiris make a large number of homonyms out of paronyms on account of their inability to utter aspirates. Bengalis, Garhawalis, and Gujratis, in particular, confuse Hindi sounds and consequently confuse meanings of words.

2. EFFECTS OF POLYSEMY.

(i) ENRICHMENT OF VOCABULARY.
DIFFERENTIATION BY CONTEXT — GRAMMATICAL USE — PHONETICAL VARIATION.
(ii) AMBIGUITY.
JOCULARITY — VAGUENESS — REPORTED SPEECH — BAD STYLE — LITERARY STYLE.
(iii) MORTALITY OF WORDS.
(iv) CONTAMINATION OF MEANING.
(v) NEW CREATIONS.

2. i. Enrichment of Vocabulary.

When we realize that the creation of new words is the most difficult task for a speaker, we feel the importance of polysemy as an elaborate and easy means of expressing our ideas.

Polysemy is a very important source of the enrichment of our language. We may say of any word of a living speech that it is a symbol not only of one idea, but of a series of related ideas. This shows that polysemic words are as numerous as the senses they convey.

Though phonetically identical, these words are different and distinguishable in meaning. Bharṭṭhari mentions eight important factors in the determination of their meaning, namely, connection, separation, accompaniment, contradiction, sense, context, gender, and proximity with other words. These factors may be reduced to two, namely, gender and context, the other factors being simply a few kinds of context, as we shall see below.

The meaning of polysemantic words is, in fact, distinguished by (i) context, (ii) grammatical function, and (iii) phonetical variation.

DIFFERENTIATION BY CONTEXT. As words are always placed in surroundings which predetermine their import, every word in common use has a fixed meaning, which is, as a rule, easily comprehensible either from the context or from its connection with some other words.*

*arthaprakaraṇābhyām vā prayogāccha bdāntareṇa vā.—Vākyapadiya.

Compare.

kháte in **ve kháte haĩ̃,** they eat, **mere kháte meṅ,** in my account.

jal in **jal pí lo,** drink water, **ág jal uṭhí,** the fire burnt up, **díyá jal rahá haĩ,** the lamp is lighting (not actually burning).

shíshá in **kaṅghí shíshá,** means 'mirror', in **khiṛ'kí ká shíshá,** a glass-pane and **shíshe ká gilás,** glass only.

paṭṭí in **paṭṭí paṛháí** means 'an advice', **paṭṭí báṅdhí,** a bandage, **khet meṅ ádhí paṭṭí,** share, **báloṅ kí paṭṭí,** partition of hair, **paṭṭí khá lo,** a sweetmeat mixed with rice, etc.

Skt. **pakṣa** in **ciṛiyoṅ ke pakṣa,** the wings of birds, **senā ke pakṣa,** contingents of the army, **hamáre pakṣa meṅ,** on our side, **bhádoṅ ke kṛṣṇa pakṣa meṅ,** during the dark fortnight of Bhádon month.

It has been generally recognised that context is an important factor in the fixation of meaning. Often a very little of the context is enough. Note the varying meanings of **já** in **vah já rahá haĩ̃,** he is going, **sabhá hone já rahí haĩ̃,** the meeting is about to be held.

Connection, Proximity, Accompaniment and Sense of Bhartrhari* may also be considered here. In **him'giri saṅg janí janu maĩnā** (Rámayaṇ), **maĩnā** refers to 'Párvatí's mother' and not to the Myna bird, on account of its connection with **him'giri,** the Himalaya, the father of Párvatí. In **var-vadhú, var** means 'husband', not 'a boon', and in **ácár yá murabbá, ácár** means 'pickles', not 'conduct', on account of the accompanying words. In **áj mel do ghaṇṭe leṭ haĩ̃, mel** means a 'mail train' (not 'union'), as its proximity with other words denotes. On account of the common sense prevailing between the speaker and the listener, **pitá jí á gaye** means 'our father has come', and **láo** to the servant means at once 'bring my shoes'.

Contradiction and Separation of word-meaning suggestion are also conveyed by context. Compare, in **ágá yá píchá, ágá** means 'front' (not 'a Muslim merchant', as suggested by its antonym, **píchá,** back). In **uttar mr dakṣiṇ, uttar** means 'north', (not reply) on account of its separation from **dakṣiṇ,** south. All

*Vákyapadíya, II, 316—17.

antonymous words directly suggest the meaning of one another. Compare **choṭá** ~~aur~~ **baṛá**, small and big, though **baṛá** also means 'a ball of pulse', **soná jág'ná**, sleep and rise, though **soná** also means 'gold'.

GRAMMATICAL USE. Polysemic words, especially the homonyms (vide also pp. 108 above), are usually distinguished by difference of grammatical function, as **ám**, mango (as a noun), common (as an adjective); **kul** means 'all' (as an adjective) and 'family' (as a noun); **par** means 'wing' (as a noun), 'on' (as a postposition), and 'but' (as conjunction); **kháná** means 'meal' (as a noun) and 'to eat' (as an infinitive); **khoj**, search, (in feminine gender) and trace (in masculine gender), **or**, direction, (fem.) and bank (masc.), etc.

PHONETICAL VARIATION. By change of intonation (accent, stress or pitch) in certain cases, we can interpret meanings with accuracy. **há** may express surprise, indignation, pain, terror, joy, compassion, or agreement, by varied modulation of voice. **jíjí** means 'elder sister' and with a punctuation between **jí** and **jí**, it means an emphatic 'yes'. In the first case the stress is on the first syllable and in the second it is even. **gadá** with the stress on the initial syllable means 'club', and with the stress on the final syllable it means 'a beggar'. **kutará** the acacia tree, and **kut'rá**, puppy; **jillá**, district, **jilá**, revive, etc. Such polysemic words, it may be noted, exist only in written language and are turned into distinct units by phonetic differentiation in spoken form.

2. ii. Ambiguity.

JOCULARITY. It may have to be admitted, anyhow, that in spite of various means which make polysemantic words distinct in the linguistic consciousness of a speaker and a listener, there can be misunderstanding of meaning. As language is at best an imperfect instrument, the conventionally symbolic nature of words holds open the door to error. At times terms are clear-cut and precise, at others they are allusive and ambiguous. Language has its playful freaks and exuberent moments. Polysemy is a fruitful source of puns, jokes and other striking expressions of a play on words also.

Examples—

pitá jí, mátá jí áp ko kháne ke liye bulá rahí hãĩ, may mean that the mother wants to eat the father or that the mother wants the father to come and take his meals. **bas ab ham cal pare,** may be interpreted as 'Now we go', or 'Now I die'. **áp kab áe? hameń áe ho gaye tís baras,** clearly suggests that the speaker means to ask when that person came. The listener interprets it differently and replies: "I was born (I came here) thirty years back". **ham píche se khá leńge,** I shall take my food afterwards, may be jocularly interpreted as 'I shall take my food from behind, i.e. through the anus'.

Vulgar people frequently enjoy ambiguous language, which is generally made indecent and indecorous. Some people become over-jocular and try to show ambiguity where there is none. They twist words and pretend. We often hear people saying: I thought you said this.

Examples—

háy sáhab mar gaye, Alas! the Sahib is dead; or alas, Sir, I am dead. **roko mat jáne do,** 'stop, don't let him go', or 'don't stop, let him go. **merá na terá,** 'mine, not yours', or 'neither mine nor yours', or 'yours, not mine'. Punctuation definitely distinguishes meanings in sentences, but a listener may at times like to distort a correct statement. Some listeners try to indulge in jocularity even with paronyms by making them, or pretending to hear them as homonyms. **ám par mor á gayá hãĩ,** a peacock has come up on the mango tree, or, the mango tree has blossomed. **sálá band hãĩ,** the school is closed, or the wretched thing (abusive **sálá**) is closed.

Misunderstanding often occurs in a given context between words which belong to the same grammatical category and to the same sphere of ideas.

Examples—

ek tolá acár le áná, bring one tola of pickles or one earthen vessel/ful of pickles. In **ek gadá dekhá thá málúm nahíń kahán gayá, gadá** as a paronym, may be interpreted to mean 'an ass', or 'a cushion'. **ghar se bát kareńge,** I shall talk to you (say, on the telephone) from my house, or I shall talk to my wife. **ḍáńḍ ṭúṭ gayá,** the stick is broken, or the land-mark is broken.

VAGUENESS. Ambiguity in meaning also grows out of relations

to be characterised. This ambiguity inheres in Hindi adjectives and adverbs, although it is present also in certain nouns and verbs. **nayá makán** may mean 'a modern house' or 'a new house'. **yahán kaun rah'tá hai** may mean 'who lives in this house', or 'who lives in the world i.e. every one dies'. **ab bure din haĩ** may refer to the current year, the present century, or even the Kali Yuga (Age). **vah khel'tá hai** may mean 'he plays at this moment' or 'he has the capacity of playing.

REPORTED SPEECH. Hindi presents ambiguity also in reported speech as it does not make distinctions between direct and indirect narration. **us'ne mujhe kahá ki merá bhatíjá pás ho gayá** may mean: His nephew passed, or my nephew passed. **us'ne batáyá ki pitá jí bímár haĩ** may imply that the father was ill or that he is (even now) ill.

BAD STYLE. Ambiguity often results from bad style and an improper use of words, as in **yúrop aur eshiá meń baŗá yuddha hogá,** which may mean 'there will be a war between Europe and Asia' or 'There will be a war in Europe and Asia'. **rájá ko ap'nákar choŗ'ná nahíń cáhiye** means 'The king after owning a person should not desert him' while the writer wanted to say: **rájá ko ap'ná kar choŗ'ná nahíń cáhiye.** i.e. the king must collect his tax.

LITERARY STYLE. In literature, which is more conscious of the polysemantic nature of words than colloquial language, ambiguity exists in a rich variety. Even scholars may differ in their interpretation of a given passage, as the following—

paĩtís koţi sutásut tere argha caŗháne áte haĩ, Here **sutá sut** may mean daughters and sons (**sutá** and **sut**) or good sons as well as bad sons (**sut, asut**).

jasodá bár bár yah bhákhaĩ.

haĩ koí brij meń hitú hamárau calat gopáĩ rákhaĩ.

Here **bár bár** may mean 'many times', 'from door to door', 'O my child, O my child ?' or 'every hair of hers'.

Two of the most important figures of speech, namely Paronomasia (**shleşa**) and Equivoque (**vakrokti**), with their varieties, are based on polysemy. Dŗştakúţas of Súr'dás are verses of this type.

The well known conversation between Kṛṣṇa and Rádhá and that between Lakṣmí and Párvatí are instances of the conscious, but masterful, employment of polysemy.

Yamaka or Analogue is another figure based on polysemy. In **ján'kí dehu to ján'kí khāīr,** note the homonyms **ján'kí,** Sita, and **ján kí,** of life. **bahí bahí phiri bahí citra ar gupitra kí,** i.e., the ledger book **(bahí)** of Citra and Gupitra kept floating **(bahí bahí)** in the Ganges.

For more examples please refer to any book on Hindi Alaṅkáras.

2. iii. Mortality of Words.

As the result of ambiguity language becomes vague, and speakers may feel obliged to substitute for such a word some cognate term of more exact and specific meaning. Listeners doubt the sincerity of a person who uses ambiguous language.

The main function of language is to convey meaning, and if this is not accomplished, ambiguous terms become obsolete. Polysemy is one of the important causes of word-mortality.

Most of the Sanskrit words of this nature have either died out or become monosemic. Compare **ari, mṛṇála, karkah,** and **go, gati, kála, asura,** etc.,

Homonyms, in general, may injure the frequency of form. Often accidental phonetic resemblance would awaken undesirable associations. For example, when speech forms become homonymous with tabu forms, the former sense is disfavoured. It is a remarkable fact that the tabu-word itself is much more tenacious of life than the harmless homonym. The word **ghaṇṭá,** bell, is avoided, as it is readily taken to mean 'penis', **laṅṭh** is no longer used to mean 'stick', as it is invariably associated with vulgarity and means 'a rude fellow'. **ghus gayá,** entered, is avoided as it is generally taken in bad sense. So also Punjabi **var,** enter. Dogri, Punjabi **muṛá,** boy, excites laughter as it is usually understood to denote 'penis'. Rajasthani **phokí,** hollow, is a vulgarism as it has come to signify 'the female private organ'. We remember giggling at the Skt. words **cúta (phal),** mango, which in Hindi means 'female organ', and **codate,** urges, which now means 'to copulate' in **cod'ná.** Urdu **lan'tarání,** boasting, we used to read with a suppressed voice as **lan** in Punjabi means 'penis'.

It will be noted that of all forms of polysemantic terms, polynymous words have the lowest mortality. That is why our language is so rich in expression to-day.

2. iv. Contamination of Meaning.

Though comparatively rarely, different meanings of a word may be blended into a new semanteme. This phenomenon has the same psychological basis as contamination of synonyms. The listener, in the act of comprehending a word, is reminded of more than one meaning at a time. These usually do not suggest themselves, as to every hearer each word has a single predominant meaning. Secondary meanings of a word cannot naturally be blended. Words which have more than one *primary* meaning alone may tend to be contaminated occasionally.

Examples—

jál meaning 'trick', 'fraud' is a compromise between **jál**, net, and Ar. **ja'l** counterfeit. **bandí**, a slave, a prisoner, has resulted from Per. **band**, shut, and Skt. **bandhana**, bondage. **yár** in Punjabi means 'a paramour', although Per. **yár** means 'a friend', but Skt. **jára** is an illegitimate husband.

2. v. New Creations.

When polysemantic words become useless as vehicles of thought, words with definite and distinct meanings come to take their place. Examples of this phenomenon may be seen in the section on Phonetic Change for Semantic Change (pp. 70 ff). Sometimes old and obsolete words may be revived for their distinctive quality. Most of the revivals from Sanskrit are induced by this motive. It may also be noted that such words are not monosemantic, as **kaṅṭak**, thorn (in Hindi), and 'finger nail', 'thorn', 'fish-bone', 'bamboo', 'fault', etc. (in Sanskrit); **khal**, wicked (in Hindi) and 'earth', 'mill', 'wicked', 'sun', 'thorn apple' (in Sanskrit); **granth**, book (in Hindi) and book, wealth, binding (in Sanskrit), etc.

More frequently, however, words are modified phonetically and given clear-cut significations for which see the last chapter.

IV

SYNONYMY

IV

SYNONYMY

1. NATURE OF SYNONYMY.
   (i) DEFINITION OF A SYNONYM.
   (ii) THE FOUR STAND-POINTS.
   (iii) THREE VARIETIES OF SYNONYMITY

1. i. Definition of a Synonym.

It is very hard to describe 'Synonyms'. They are described as "words of like significance (samárthak) in the main, but also with a certain unlikeness as well, with very much common, but also with somewhat private and peculiar." Ordinarily, both in popular literary acceptation, and as employed in special dictionaries of such words, synonyms are words sufficiently alike in general signification to be liable to be confounded but yet so different in special definition as to require to be distinguished. This means that synonyms are words whose significations partly agree and partly disagree.

Webster's definition of a synonym is as follows: "A noun or other word having the same signification as another is its synonym. Two words containing the same idea are synonymous."

If this is accepted as a definition, Eng. 'love' and Skt. **prema,** and Eng. 'boy,' Ger. knabe, Skt. **bálaka** and H. **laṛ'ká** are synonyms.

Strictly speaking they are equivalents and not synonyms. Again, **ḍar,** fear, **ḍaráv'ná,** frightful, **ḍar'pok,** timid, **ḍar'ná,** to fear, should be synonymous, as they contain the same idea. But, it may be noted that their grammatical usage is different. Moreover, it has been generally accepted that no two words of the same signification actually exist in any one particular language.

The New English Dictionary (Oxford) gives a better definition. The synonym, it says, is "strictly, a word having the same sense as another (in the same language), but more usually, either or any of two or more words (in the same language) having the same general sense, but possessing each of the meanings which are not shared by the other or others, or having different shades of meanings or implications appropriate to different contexts." It is essential that synonymous words as such should exist in the same language. It may also be added that they must belong to the same grammatical class. This is a very widely accepted definition of a synonym. Yet there is a serious objection even against this. Three or more words may be arranged in couples, the members of each pair having a closer affinity with each other than with the rest, and the various couples being mutually connected by each member appearing in two of them at the same time, as in—

> **cal'ná,** to go, and **phir'ná,** to move; **phir'ná** and **muṛ'ná,** to turn; **muṛ'ná** and **cakkar káṭ'ná,** to go round; **cakkar káṭ'ná** and **cakkar kháná,** to revolve; **cakkar kháná** and **cak'ráná,** to be puzzled; **cak'ráná,** and **ghab'ráná,** to be embarassed, etc.

But compare **cal'ná** to go, and **ghab'ráná** to be embarassed. The two are very widely different in meaning.

> Also **vidh'vá,** and **ráṅḍ,** widow; **ráṅḍ** and **raṅḍí,** widow, prostitute; **raṅḍí** and **veshyá,** prostitute; **veshyá** and **sadá suhágin,** one whose husband lives ever; **sadásuhágin** and **sāūbhágyavatí,** lucky; **sāūbhágyavatí,** and **sukhí,** happy; **sukhí** and **khush,** glad.

But compare **vidh'vá,** widow, and **khush,** glad. The two are very widely different in meaning as well as grammar.

As may be gathered by this last example, all the various words of a language could be treated as synonyms, if only the connecting chain is made long enough, and the interval filled up by the requisite links. In this united universe, where everything is part of a

whole, no two notions can be entirely dissociated.

However, practical reasons forbid to give the term this wide and meaningless signification. We restrict conveniently the term 'synonyms' to the most nearly allied ideas. Synonyms, we agree, are WORDS OF ALMOST IDENTICAL MEANING OR COMMON 'CORE-SENSE' BUT WITH A CERTAIN SHADE OR NUANCE OF DIFFERENCE.

1. ii. The Four Stand-points.

Even this, we shall see, does not present a complete picture of a synonym. There are four stand-points from which a synonym may and must be handled by a student of Semantics. These four, if a sound synthesis is desired, are the following—

(a) The etymologist's outlook;
(b) The literary man's outlook;
(c) The layman's outlook;
(d) The dialectical speaker's outlook.

The above definition, viz., words of identical 'core-sense' in the main but with a certain unlikeness as well, concerns only the literary man. For the layman there is absolutely no difference between **prthví** and **bhúmi** (earth), for instance. He uses several words indiscriminately to denote one and the same thing or idea. To avoid repetition of words in his speech, oral or written, he employs others to convey the same sense. Even the literary man, keen to find, or conscious of, a small difference of meaning, sometimes stoops to the educated layman's conception. The language of poetry and, in a less degree, of written prose, demands a store of synonyms on which an author can draw at will, thereby forming an individual style and avoiding monotony.

With all this, the educated man does not always ignore the discrimination between allied words. He does differentiate between **cal'ná** and **jáná**, to go, for instance. He is helped and influenced by the literary man, to a great extent, by the etymologist and the lexicographer. It is the lexicographer's business to differentiate all such words of language. From his view-point, between words commonly classed as synonyms there is *always* some difference in suggestion or in area of meaning, however subtle, slight, or difficult to define. When one form has been used, a second or third form

cannot be employed in the same sense. Few are the words that can be set down as exact equivalents in any language. For the etymologist **prthví** and **bhúmi** are only allied words, not synonymous in the strict sense of the term.

In dialect the number of synonyms, in the strict sense of the term, is inappreciable because the stock of words of one particular dialect is so limited and usage so traditionally fixed that there is little scope for synonymity.

The semantician will have to evaluate all synonymous words from these four standpoints. **prthví** and **bhúmi** are not synonymous to an etymologist. But his outlook ends with the Rgveda. In the Rgveda **prthví** occurs as an attribute of **bhúmi (prthu,** the broad, **bhúmi,** substance), but in the Yajurveda **prthví** becomes a substantive so that the sentence **rasamayí prthví** occurs there. Here the etymologist vacates his position for the literary man. For the Yajurvedic literary man **prthví** has become a real synonym for **bhúmi** and he has no distinct view of the literal meaning of **prthví.**

From the dialectical speaker's standpoint there is only one word for mosquito, namely **macchar** (Punjab), **macchaṛ** (U.P.), **ḍáṅs** (Gujrat), or **mashá** (Bengal). From the layman's view-point **macchar** and **macchaṛ,** or **macchaṛ** and **ḍáṅs,** or **ḍáṅs** and **mashá** are synonymous. To the literary man all these four words are interchangeable and identical, though he knows where to use which. The etymologist understands fully that **mashá** (Skt. **mashakah**) relates to its buzzing sound, **macchar** (Skt. **matsara**) is due to its wicked and hostile nature and **ḍáṅs,** which is a general term, on account of its sting. **macchar** and **macchaṛ** are dialectical.

A literary man's consciousness of differentiation in the meaning of synonymous words has often resulted in fineness of diction, exactness of communicability of thought, subtleness of style, and masterliness of language. The Riti poets of the later mediaeval period in Hindi were particularly proficient in the choice of words, and critics have explained how impossible it is to replace even a single word in the whole couplet of Bihari, for example, or in the poetry of Dev, Dás, Padmákar or Senápati, besides many others, without impairing the sense of its author or without spoiling the intrinsic beauty of the work. It is generally claimed that the workmanship

of Prasad's 'Kámáyaní' (an epic poem of modern times) lies mainly in its semantic discrimination based on the right choice of words which are irreplaceable and indispensable. Often, a critic who is more etymological than the writer himself has succeeded in demonstrating his own pedantry, rather than the ingenuity of that writer.

Anyhow, whether it is the critic's explanation or the conscious application of the author, a study of such words would be extremely interesting for a student of Hindi synonymy.

1. iii. Three Varieties of Synonymity.

It would, indeed, be a life study to prepare a full evaluation of all words in any language—how far a word is a perfect synonym as from an educated layman's viewpoint, how far a word is only allied to another and not at all synonymous as from an etymologist's or a scholastic poet's viewpoint, or, how far words are partly synonymous and only partly allied as is the actual case in an advanced language. Synonyms are, thus, of three kinds.

A. Absolute synonyms i.e. words absolutely coincident or words which can be used interchangeably in almost all contexts, as—

vastra, and **kap'ṛá,** cloth
bhíru, and **ḍar'pok,** timid
gokhá, and **jharokhá,** ventilator
váyu, and **pavan,** wind
nikaṭ, and **samíp,** near
cháyá, and **chánh,** shade
kaīdí, and **bandí,** prisoner
kám'dev, and **madan,** Cupid
cáci, and **káki,** aunt
shít, and **sar'dí,** cold ; etc., etc.

We shall discuss in the next article the causes of growth of such equivalent words in Hindi. It has to be noted that, in general, such words are nouns, naturally because we have mostly borrowed noun-words from languages other than Hindi.

B. Partial synonyms i.e. differing in sense in some contexts but equivalent in other places. They may be divided into two categories —(1) words that were originally synonymous but later differentiated. **kulí** (from Tamil) and **maz'dúr** (from Persian) have the same meaning. But usage has confined the **kulí** to a porter, especially at railway stations, and **maz'dúr** to a labourer, a general worker employed to carry loads, dig the field or clean your house. Eng. 'school' and

Skt. **páṭhashálá** have had the same denotation. But in course of time, a 'school' has come to mean 'a general teaching institution', while **páṭh'shálá** connotes a Sanskrit institution, indigenous school or a school for girls. **ríti** now means 'custom of a formal or religious kind' **riváj**, an established custom in a group, and **cál**, general conduct of individuals or multitudes.

The following terms, for example, were used differently in Sanskrit, and are still so used by careful speakers and learned writers. But for all practical purposes they have almost approximated in meaning.

dukh and **khed**; although actually the latter is a stronger term for misery in despair.

dil, **hrday**, **man**, and **jí**. In fact, **dil** is the pulsating organ called the heart, **hrdaya** is the abstract heart, **man** is the mind and **jí**<**jíva**, life, soul.

ghor, terrific, **atyanta**, limitless, **baṛá**, big, **bahut**, much, have become convertible in several phrases.

C. Indefinite synonyms, i.e. words which are *either* perfectly different but loosely used as synonyms *or* generally synonymous but differentiated by scholars. Examples of the first type are—**cauki** and **kur'sí** for chair, although the two are quite different in form and use; **churí** and **cákú** for knife, although cákú is foldable. Examples of the second type are—**dayá** mercy for the needy and the depressed, and **krpá**, kindness for the youngers, an obligation. **anveṣaṇ**, **anusandhán**, **gaveṣ'ṇá**, and **khoj** have, so far, been used indiscriminately for search or research. But a distinction has been attempted to fix **anveṣaṇ** for exploration, **gaveṣ'ṇá** for research, **anusandhán** for investigation, and **khoj** for discovery (vide 'Shabda Sádhaná' by Shri R. C. Varma, p. 103); **kalah** and **jhag'ṛá'** are used as equivalents, but it is insisted that **kalah** is discord and **jhag'ṛa** is quarrel.

It has to be admitted, as a rule, that synonymous words become equivalents in some contexts and different in signification in some other contexts on account of the polysemantic values of those words, which we have already discussed in the previous chapter. Their alliances vary with variations in their meanings. **bhaṛak'ná**, to flare up, is equivalent to **jal uṭh'ná**, but **bhaṛak'ná**, to get excited, is synonymous with **uttejit honá**, and **bhaṛak'ná**, to get startled, means **cauṅk'ná**. Now consider the position of **jal uṭh'ná**, **uttejit honá** and **cauṅk'ná** which have extremely distant relationship.

2. SOURCES OF SYNONYMY.

(i) Bilingualism.
(ii) Cultural Distinction.
(iii) Descriptive names.
(iv) Epithets.
(v) Onomatopoeias.
(vi) Mythology and Superstition.
(vii) Semantic convergence.
(viii) Figures.
(ix) Paraphrase.
(x) Literary style.
(xi) Synonymy in Proper Names.
(xii) Negation of antonyms.

2. i. Bilingualism.

The acceptance of a word from another language where a native word already existed is an important source of synonymy in a composite language like Hindi. The conquered classes are obliged to adopt words from the language of the conquerors. Authors, familiar with many tongues, use words which are luxuries, not necessities. Borrowings from cognate dialects and neighbouring languages are also fairly common. Various tribes, each with its own dialect, kindred, indeed, but in many respects distinct, coalesce into one people and desiring to form a *lingua franca* cast their contributions into a common stock. The following equivalents may be compared—

bád'sháh (Per.), **rájá** (tsm.), king — **kadam** (Per.), **pair** (tbh.), footstep
khar (Per.), **gad'há** (Hindi), ass — **khar'gosh** (Per.), **sasá** (Hindi), hare
sher (Per.), **sinha** (Skt.), lion — **kālsh** (Eng.), **nagad** (Per.), cash
nafá (Ar.), **lábha** (Skt.), profit — **ṭí** Eng.), **cáy** (Chinese?), tea
cácí (Punjab and U. P.), **káká** (Eastern U. P., Bihar, Bengal and Bombay), aunt
dádá, bábá, ájá (nursery words from various dialects), grandfather.

aṅgochá (tbh.), **gam'chá** (as far as Allahabad), a napkin.
roṛá and **kaṅkar** (both onom.), pebble.

mūṣ (tsm.), **cūhā** (onom.), rat.
bak'rā (onom), **chāg** (stsm.), goat.
bhīt, bhitti, bhīṭī (dialectical), wall.
santarā (Port.), **nāraṅgī** (Per.) orange.

Sometimes we have triplicates and even quintriplicates. Compare—

bhīt, bhitti, bhīṭī, divāl for a wall;

māsṭar, adhyāpak, pādhā, upādhyāy, paṅḍit jī for School-master;

pīṛā, pīr, vyathā, bithā, darda for pain;

māl'dār, amīr, dhanī, dhan'vān, dhan'vālā, seṭh, mahājan, sāhūkār, koṭhī vālā for a rich man; etc.

There is always a tendency among literate classes to use learned words, Sanskrit, Persian or English, in their speech. People pick them up for fashion. In literature, especially, such words are commonly used side by side with colloquial words. Examples of synonymous words from Persian (including Perso-Arabic) are—

aj'gar (stsm.), **aj'dahā** (Ar.) python — **sāṅp** (tbh.), **sarpa** (tsm), snake

mainā (H.), **sārikā** (Skt.), Myna bird — **laḍḍū** (H.), **modaka** (Skt.), a kind of sweetmeat

cyūṇṭī (H.), **pipīlikā** (Skt.), ant — **jug'nū** (H.), **khadyota** (Skt.), glow-worm

af'sar (Eng.), **hākim** (Per.), **adhikārī** (Skt.), officer.

It may also be noted that the popular word is at times foreign, but it is often replaced in literary Hindi by the native one. Compare—

jaldī (Per.), **shīghra** (Skt.), at once — **agar** (Per.), **yadi** (Skt.), if

jarūr (Per.), **avashya** (Skt.), must — **kabūl'nā, svīkār kar'nā,** to accept, to admit

bīmār (Per.), **rogī** (Skt.), ill, patient.

The use of Sanskrit words in such cases is less extensive. More examples are—

ārām, vishrām, rest — **hāzir, upasthit,** present
inām, puraskār, prize — **daftar, kāryālay,** office
kamar, kaṭi, waist — **nakla, anukaraṇ,** imitation
kharca, vyaya, expenditure — **phalānā, amuk,** so-and-so
manjūr, svīkrt, accepted — **hissā, bhāg,** part.

Sometimes the popular form is native but the literary Hindi prefers a foreign word.

Compare—

je (or **jo**), **ki** (Per.), that **jane, ád'mí** (Per.), men.

Literate persons show this preference even in their day-to-day speech, as—

Eng. 'wife' to **patní**, 'father' to **pitá** or **báp.**

Muslim speakers generally use a number of Persian words and Christians English words, although common words are either tatsamas or tadbhavas.

Sometimes vulgarisms or popular forms are translated to give them a literary or cultural tinge. See 2. ii. below.

Sometimes learned words are coined, and foreign words, though popular, are translated.

haváí jaháj = **váyuyán,** aeroplane **prográm** = **káryakram,** programme

ráy = **anumati,** opinion **klarka** = **lekhak,** clerk

ummíd'vár = **padárthí,** candidate.

The impact of European culture has necessitated this tendency in almost all fields of our activities including literature, philosophy, history, science and even religion.

It may be repeated that our contact with foreign languages, especially Perso-Arabic and English, and the revival of Sanskrit in Hindi vocabularies has been an important factor for synonymy in our language. A large number of partial or absolute synonymous words have been established in general usage in Sanskrit. Hindi inherited these words and their usages as such. The 'Amara Koṣa' enumerates them rather elaborately. A reference may be made to words for cow, lotus, cloud, sun, moon, cupid, mountain, eye, body, cat, monkey, horse, thief, Brahmaṇa, wife, wood, wine, gold, etc. Most of these words are being used as complete synonyms in Hindi.

A very large number of tatsamas and their tadbhava forms co-exist as absolute synonyms.

The tatsamas are the property of learned classes and tadbhavas of the common folk.

Examples—

karṇa, kán, ear **kuṣṭha, koṛh,** leprosy

kaṇṭak, káṅṭá, thorn **kumár, kvárá,** bachelor

gaur, gorá, white **gambhír, gahará,** deep

granthi, gáṇṭh, knot
candramá, cánd, moon
tíkṣṇa, tíkhá, sharp
dugdha, dúdh, milk
nrtya, nác, dance
nidrá, níṅd, sleep
paríkṣá, parakh, test
vyághra, bágh, tiger
báhu, báṅh, arm
muktá, motí, pearl
bhikṣá, bhíkh, alms
súrya, súraj, sun
sandhyá, sánjh, evening
grám, gánv, village
caṅcu, coṅc, beak
dípak, díyá, lamp
dakṣiṇ, dáhiná, right
nagna, naṅgá, naked
prahar, pahar, period
vindu, búṅd, drop
vrddha, buḍḍhá, old
bhramar, bhaunrá, bee
váṣpa, bháp, steam
megh, meh, cloud
satya, sac, truth
svarṇa, soná, gold

etc., etc.

A list of Persian (including Arabic) words that have become synonymous with Indian words in current Hindi is given in an appendix. It may be pointed out that the future of these Persian words is uncertain, though some of them have a sure chance of survival on account of their (a) greater signification, (b) better expressiveness, (c) finer semantic value, or (d) commoner use.

2. ii. Cultural Distinction.

Use of different words by different classes is, as noted above, another cause of synonymy. The following words used by Hindus and Muslims separately may be noted. Some of these are partial synonyms.

ar'thí, janázá, bier
ammá, ammí, mother
íshvar, alláh, God
pitá, báp, abbá, father
bhoj, valímá, feast
gaṭh bandhan, akda, matrimony
jíjí, báji, sister
shukravár, jummá, Friday
som'vár, pír, Monday.
mausí, khálá, aunt
up'desh, váz, sermon
krpá, fazal, grace of God
brat, rozá, fast
páṭh, talávat, recitation of the scriptures
tar'kárí, sálan, curry
jíjá, dúlhá bhaí, brother-in-law

Some words have lower or higher spheres of culture. The

vocabulary of rustic person includes such words as **pād'nā,** to break wind, **hag'nā,** to secrete, **gūh,** secreta, **jorū,** wife, **meharārū,** woman, **lmāṇḍā,** boy, **lmāṇḍiyā,** girl, which educated cultured classes usually avoid, and use, instead, **havā choṛ'nā, shmc kar'nā** or **ṭaṭṭī kar'nā, viṣṭhā** or **mallā, patnī, murat, laṛ'kā, laṛ'kī,** etc.

Also see Euphemism in the following pages.

2. iii. Descriptive Names.

The characteristic merit of the Sanskrit vocabulary, and, for the matter of that, of modern Hindi as of other old Aryan languages, is that words are mostly significant. In some languages synonyms are fewer, as the single word for an idea is often without any grammatical connotation, so to say. It merely denotes a thing, e.g. earth, water, sky, etc. in the English language. But in Sanskrit even simple words like **prthvī, ākāsha, jala, manuṣya, sūrya, sarpa,** etc have a rational etymological explanation. Thus **prthvī,** means the vast one, **jala,** the cold substance, **ākāsha,** the luminous expanse, **manuṣya,** the thinking being, **sūrya,** the moving planet, and **sarpa,** the creeping being. Although it may be said that the etymological sense is never present in the mind of the common speaker, the manufacturers of words do bear it in mind. If we take into account various synonyms of a word (and almost every word has a large or small number of these), we can recover all that was in the mind of the first speakers about the particular substance (or action) indicated by the word. These ideas have, of course, not been always the same. The Vedic people had, for example, notions about the earth or water or sky which do not all occur to the classical or mediaeval or modern thinker, while others which did not occur to the Vedic people, are prominent in later stages of human thought. Gold is **hema, ayas,** as it is attractive, **hiraṇyam, hāṭakam,** as it is the yellow stuff, **loham,** as it is red, **candra, kanak,** as it is shining, **amṛtam,** as it is indestructible, **kāñcana,** as it is fresh in colour and **jātarūpa,** as it is ornamental. The sky pervades **(viyata)** and covers **(ambara),** it is a vast expanse **(puṣkara),** it shines **(ākāsha)** and is seen in space **(antarikṣa).** Night is unctuous **(naktā)** and wavy **(ūrmyā)** and deceitful **(doṣā).** It is twin with the day **(yāminī).** The day covers the sky **(vāsara)** and is luminous **(dina).**

Words express the relations of things and the relations of things are almost infinite, and especially must they seem so to the delicate sense of the youthful world. It is not essentially the most conspicuous feature of a thing that is taken into account in giving a name to it. It may be a feature which first strikes the attention of a man. The tree is called **vrkṣa** as it is cut, **pádap** as it takes food from roots, **mahíruh** as it grows on the ground, **shákhí** on account of its branches, **drum** for its wood, **peṛ** on account of its trunk (**piṇḍa**) and Bengali and Eastern Hindi **gách** for its progressive movement, Punjabi **rukh** which means 'shining' (**rúkṣa**). Similarly the sea is called **abdhi** or **udadhi** as it is an expanse of water, **párávár** as it is limitless, **ratnákar** as it is a mine of gems, and **samudra** as it pervades or as it rises. In Hindi, an insect is called **kíṛá** as it is tinged according to its surroundings (Skt. √**kiṭ**, to colour), **patańgá** as it becomes one with the leaf (**patráńga**); **bhun'gá** as it moves about on the ground (**bhúmigah**), or as it moves on arms (cf. **bhujańga**, a serpent), and so on. The peg is called **khúṭṭí** as it is protected, **ṭaṅg'ṛí** as it is used for hanging things, and **kíl** as it may also be used to close a hole. Betrothal is called **maṅg'ní** as relationship is thus demanded (**máṅg'ná**), and **sagáí** as it makes the relations real (**sagá**), Punj. **kuṛ'máí** as it means the foundation of a family (**kuṭumba**). The marriage party is called **barát** < Skt. **varayátrá**, bridegroom's journey and **janetí** as it consists of men, Punj. **jańj** < Skt. **janyá**, relation.

A thing thus begins to acquire more and more designations along with the advancement of knowledge. Synonymous words, at first define different aspects of a thing. But in course of time each one of them comes to denote it in all its aspects. When each of the words is coined, its especial signification is felt and intended. If at a later date the especial colouring is lost from consciousness, and nothing more is thought of than the general notion or the whole object, we arrive at synonyms.

2. iv. Epithets.

Sometimes names are given to things in particular circumstances. But in course of time those names lose their peculiar application and become common. Thus **shíṭ'lá váhan**, the vehicle of Sitla Devi,

kálápání, the black water, and **shiv'búṭí**, Siva's herb, have become synonymous with **gad'há**, an ass, **desh'nikálá**, exile, and **bhaṅg**, hemp drug, respectively. **ṭhákur**, master, and **náí**, barber, have become synonymous. Compare the word 'master' being used for a tailor. Flattering words like **svámí**, lord, for **sádhu**, mendicant, **bahishtí**, heavenly, for **másh'kí**, water-carrier, **halál'khor**, legitimate earner, for **meh'tar**, great man, and **jamádár**, a military officer, for **bhaṅgí**, sweeper, are notable examples.

2. v. Onomatopoeias.

Even onomatopoeic words, we have noted, may be synonymous, as they start with describing various impressions, received by a listener. Thus **bis'bisáná, baj'bajáná**, to ferment.

bhas'bhasá, thal'thalá, flabby	**saṭar'paṭar, aṅḍ baṅḍ**, trifles
roṛá, kaṅkaṛ, pebble	**khaṅkh, chúchá**, barren
ṭhanak, casak, to jingle	**ṭhak'ṭhakáná, khaṭ'-khaṭáná**, to knock.

Onomatopoeic words may become synonymous with conventional words.

Compare—

dhadhak, lm, flames	**dharádhaṛ, lagátár**, continuous
dham'káná, ḍaráná, to frighten	**dhasak, irṣyá**, jealousy
thap'kí, shábásh, encouragement, etc.	

2. vi. Mythology and Superstition.

Mythology and superstition have played an important part in multiplying the names of objects.

Examples—

mrgáṅk, one with a mark of a deer, **shash'dhar**, one bearing a hare, for **cánd**, the moon;

makar'dhvaj, one with the flag bearing the sign of a crocodile, for **kám'dev**, Cupid;

súryapriyá, the beloved of the sun, for **cháyá,** shade;
párvatí, the daughter of the Himalayas, for **gaurí,** the white, wife of Siva.

2. vii. Semantic Convergence.

Another source of the same superfluity of synonyms arises from the fact that of two words, each may develop its meaning on its own lines, and the meanings may come to converge so as to become one and the same. Owing to this process there arise two forms for one and the same idea.

Compare—

kháná, to eat, **már'ná,** to beat, to kill, in **kisí ká rupayá khá jáná, már lená,** to embezzle another's money.

ugal'ná, to turn out from the mouth, and **ulaṭ'ná,** to upset, to vomit.

láṭ, Lord, governor, **naváb,** Nawab, prince, in **ágaye láṭ** (or **naváb**) **kahíṅ ke.**

rupayá, rupee, **paisá,** pice, for **dhan,** money.

In other terms, as the result of shifting of meaning some words drift apart and others approach one another. Many idioms become synonymous in this way. Further examples—

kaháṅ se, from where, **kaise,** how, for 'never,' as in **ab un'ke darshan kaháṅ se (kaise) hoṅge, ve to sadá ke liye vidá ho gaye,** we shall never see him, he is gone for ever.

khák, dust, **patthar,** stone, in **is bát par khák ḍálo** and **patthar máro,** let it go.

áṅkhoṅ meṅ cubh'ná, lit. to prick in the eyes, and **dil meṅ jam'ná,** to be fixed in the heart, far 'to be liked.'

áṅcal, cloth and **háth,** hand, in **áṅcal pasár'ná,** and **háth phaillána,** for 'to beg'.

2. viii. Figures.

Figurative use of a word makes it synonymous with an ordinary word. Note how meanings converge in the following—

shaṅc (cleanliness), **jaṅgal** (jungle), latrine;

svargavás (life in heaven), **dehánt** (end of the body), **mrtyu,** death;

poṭ kí ág, fire of the stomach, **bhúkh,** hunger

are cases of euphemism.

hajároṅ, thousands, **kaí,** many; **adbhut,** unprecedented, and **nirálá,** desolate, wonderful; **ghor** terrific, and **atyánt,** limitless, **bahut,** very, much, due to exaggeration.

Ironical expressions like **sídhá sádá,** straight and simple, **has'rat,** a personality, have become synonymous with **págal,** fool, and **cálák,** clever, or **dhúrta,** wicked.

Metaphorical uses coalesce in meaning, as in —

kaṛí dhúp, tez dhúp, hot sun;

míṭhí churí, kap'ṭí, vishvás'ghátí, treacherous;

ṭeṛhí khír, samasyá, problem.

For other examples see the next chapter.

With these may be compared another class of words which are used indifferently, not because they express precisely the same ideas, but because they do not express any clearly definable ideas at all, such as terms of abuse and vituperation. In a passion I may say **gad'há, súar, náláyak, págal kahíṅ ká,** donkey, swine, unfit, mad, etc., to mean nothing more than 'a stupid'.

2. ix. Paraphrase.

Sometimes a word may have a compound sense expressed in a compound word, or a phrase, as—

kartá = kar'ne válá, doer	**pleg = mahámárí,** plague
kalaṅk = kálakh ká ṭíká, black mark	**phánsí = práṇ-daṇḍ,** death penalty
láṅá = háth'kaṭá, lame of hand	**khúṅṭ = kán ká mail,** earwick
laṅghan = niráhár, fast	**cith'ṛá = phaṭá kap'ṛá,** rag
dhobin = dhobí kí strí, washerwoman	**dattak = god baiṭháyá beṭá,** adopted son.

Dictionaries give meanings in this way. For want of vocabulary we often use such expressions. Sometimes we use analytic words to avoid the unfamiliar and learned ones. Compare **gáyak = gáne válá,** singer; **vádak = bajáne válá,** musician.

Verbs formed by adding **kar'ná, honá, lag'ná, ḍál'ná,** etc., also become synonyms of this type.

Compare—

rok'ná, rukávaṭ ḍál'ná, to impede	**ucaṭ'ná, ucáṭ honá,** to be estranged
sunáná, varṇan kar'ná, to relate	**ghus'ná, bhítar jáná,** to enter
ḍhúṇḍh'ná, ṭoh lená, to search	**cahak'ná, khil uṭh'ná,** to bloom
joṛ'ná, joṛ lagáná, to join	**ulaṭ'ná, kāi kar'ná,** to vomit.

2. x. Literary style.

Synonymy, like polysemy, is another incident of literature. Necessities of rhyme, rythm, style, harmony and variety of composition tend to the employment of various words which make them synonymous with others. Take any passage in Hindi and it would be found containing words which are easily replaceable by simpler or different ones, as in—

us kál pashcim or ravi kí rah gaí bas lálimá ;
hone lagí kuch kuch pragaṭ sí yáminí kí kálimá—M.S.

Here **kál** = **samay,** time, **or** = **taraf,** side, **lálimá** = **láli,** redness, **yáminí** = **rát,** night, and **kálimá** = **andherá,** darkness.

Sometimes, for the same reasons, words may be employed in senses other than their own and made synonymous with other words, as **kálimá,** blackness, for **andherá,** darkness.

Also note the use of **páṇigrahaṇ,** marriage, for **av'lamban,** resort, in **cintá na vighnoṅ kí karo páṇigrahaṇ kar níti ká.** It appears that synonymy must exist so long as the question of style dominates the mind of the writer. In one sentence he would say **khá lo** and in another **bhojan kar lo,** in order to avoid repetition of words, which he thinks, is a bad style.

2. xi. Synonymy in Proper Names.

Some scholars believe that the question of synonymy does not arise in the case of proper names as they are not significative. But

due to the same cause, we get—

prayág, iláhábád, Allahabad
mahesh, shiv, Siva
káshí, banáras, Benaras
rání ganj, dáńdúpur, Dandupur
rám'náth, munní ke bhāīyá, (for the husband)
asoj, kuńvár, name of a month
kampú, sultán'pur, Sultanpur
lańká, sińhal, Ceylon
koil, alígaṛh, Aligarh
prthvíganj, bhagges'rá, Bhagesra
ag'han, mańg'sar, name of a month
neh'rú = pradhán mantrí.

2. xii. Negation of antonym.

This is a very common device for creating synonyms. Although negation of an opposite does not necessarily mean positive, because it can be neutral as well, yet usage tends to make such words synonymous and even equivalent with positive words. In fact, there are two sets of antonyms for many ideas or actions. One expresses what is negatively opposite or contrary and the other expresses the simple negation or lack. Thus, 'friend' and 'enemy' are opposites, while 'sympathetic' and 'apathetic' are contrasting in the lack of a particular feeling. A negation of the latter set makes easy synonyms, rather equivalents, by grammatical and logical fact, while the negation of the former class makes partial synonyms by usage and by ultimately offering the 'core-sense' common to its positive opposite. Examples of the two sets are separately given below—

(i) **svaccha,** clear, and **nirmal,** lit. undirty.
svastha, healthy, and **nírog,** un-diseased.
sthir, steady, and **nishcal,** immovable.
bhaddá, awkward, and **beḍāūl,** mis-shaped.
bahut, many, and **anek,** lit. not one.
vilamba, delay, and **aber,** untimeliness.
ek or **vahí,** same, and **abhinna,** not different.

(ii) **bahumúlya,** high-priced, **amúlya,** priceless.
bhávi, future, **adṛṣṭa,** not seen.
ap'mán, disrespect, **anádar,** lack of respect.
píche, afterwards, **anantar,** without an interval.

Etc., etc.

3. FATE OF SYNONYMS.

(i) RETRENCHMENT.
- (a) INDO-ARYAN SURVIVALS.
- (b) REPLACEMENTS.

(ii) DIFFERENTIATION.
- (a) DESYNONYMIZATION.
- (b) DIFFERENTIATED SYNONYMS.
- (c) NECESSITATED DISCRIMINATIONS.
- (d) TWO SETS OF USAGE.
- (e) ORDINARY AND EXALTED TERMS.
- (f) RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR WORDS.
- (g) RECOVERY OF SYNONYMS.
- (h) ETYMOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS.
- (i) THE FORCE OF USAGE AGAIN.
- (j) THE TREND CONTINUED.

(iii) RISE OF DOUBLETS.
- (a) LAW OF DIFFERENTIATION.
- (b) SANSKRIT DOUBLETS.
- (c) HINDI DOUBLETS.
- (d) TATSAMA AND TADBHAVA FORMS.
- (e) POPULAR AND FOREIGN FORMS.
- (f) FOREIGN DOUBLETS.

(iv) CONTAMINATION.

3. i. Retrenchment.

The most simple and obvious result of synonymy is that in a set of synonymous words, particularly equivalents one or two may survive, and others disappear. A study of any Sanskrit, Prakrit or Old Hindi dictionary would fully illustrate this tendency.

3. i(a). Indo-Aryan Survivals.

Of the various names for **svarga**, only **svarga** is found in colloquial and **dev lok**, **svarlok** and **svarga** in literary Hindi. Out of about a dozen names for 'gods', only **dev** and **dev'tá** survive. We do not here consider their preservation in proper names, as

amar in **amar'náth.** Of about 80 words for 'demon', only **rákṣas** and occasionally **nishácar** are used. About 40 names of 'fire' are mentioned. But we use the tsm. **agni** or the tbh. **ág** only, **ág** being colloquial and more common. **váyu** and **havá** and dialectical **bayár,** Punjabi **vá,** alone survive out of 49 names for 'wind'. **macchar** (Beng. **mashá**) is the only surviving word for 'mosquito' out of eight used in Sanskrit. **jáná** is now exclusively used for 'go', all other *gatyarthaka* words having been either discarded or come to be used in other senses. Lahndi uses only **vañjuṇ** (compare Skt. √**vraj**) and Poṭhowari **gach'ṇá.**

The following are the examples of words that Hindi did not care to inherit from Prakrit—

tiviḍí, packet, H. **puṛiyá**	**iṅkhiṇí,** censure, H. **niṅdá**
umbá, a tie, H. **baṅdhan**	**ujjhala,** sturdy, H. **moṭá**
ollaraṇa, to sleep, H. **soná**	**kaṅḍúra,** a heron, H. **bagulá**
jhíṛá, shame, H. **lajjá, láj**	**tasia,** dry, H. **súkhá**
thúṇa, horse, H. **ghoṛá**	**dhúṇa,** elephant, H. **háthí**
phesa, dread, H. **ḍar**	**bhilińga,** a lentil, H. **masúr**
háḍahaḍa, instantaneously	**hillá,** sand, H. **bálú**

etc., etc.

3. i(b). Replacements.

Some of the OIA and MIA, and even NIA, words have been replaced by foreign words or words of dubious origin. Thus—

totá has replaced **suggá** which is becoming obsolete. **guláb** has replaced about twenty words in Sanskrit. **kuttá** has replaced **kukkur** which is becoming a provincialism. **garam** has replaced **tátá,** though **tattá** survives in Punjabi. **sher** has replaced **síṅha** which is used only in literature or in proper names, and which was the single survival out of about 28 words for a 'lion', although L. **shíṅh** still exists. The use of **námkar** for **dás,** servant, **kilá,** for **gaṛh,** fort, **tárík** for **tithi,** date, **kitáb** for **pustak** or **pothí,** book, may also be noted.

The list of such words is quite long.

Synonymy is an important factor in word-mortality. Thousands of Indo-Aryan words now lie dead in dictionaries on account of this clash of meaning.

3. ii. Differentiation.

Differentiation is defined as the "intentional, ordered process by which words apparently synonymous, and once synonyms, have nevertheless taken different meanings and can no longer be used indiscriminately."—(Abel). It means a process of classification which consists in attributing degrees to synonymous expressions. Nothing, in truth, is more natural or more necessary than differentiation, since our language gathers in words of different epochs and different surroundings, and would be wholly given over to confusion if it did not keep a certain order among them.

We must deal with words as the botanist deals with plants. To the village layman many flowers look almost alike, and he would readily refer them to the same class, but if he turns to the classification made by the botanist, he would see that they belong to quite different families.

3. ii(a). Desynonymization.

Differentiation, however, is a question of cultural development. Backward people use the synonymous words indiscriminately. An advanced society has more things to designate, thoughts to utter, and distinctions to draw, and it is felt to be a waste of resources to have two or more words for signifying one and the same object. Extravagance, it feels, would be punished. Some thought or feeling would want its adequate designation because another would have two. Hereupon begins what has been well called the process of "desynonymizing." The desire for distinctness, emphasis, connotation, and the needs of thought which grow with the growth of culture, greatly stimulate this process.

Heyse in his "*system der sprachwissenschaft*" thus accounts for the disappearance of absolute equivalents: "Cultivated speech admits no superfluity and knows how to use every word for differentiation and fine nuance expression, for its own advantage."

The superior nuance noticed in English, for example, is due to the influence of the scientific outlook in Europe which has brought about precision in many words. Desynonymization, also, checks the rate of word-mortality and enriches a language.

3. ii(b). Differentiated Synonyms.

The possibilities of differentiation between synonyms are many. We need as many of them as we can assimilate and then use for various shades of our thoughts. We have already made useful distinctions in the application of many a synonym. But Hindi is still backward in this respect. Scholars, writers and literate speakers should not afford to let their advancing language become shabby. In a well-constructed language there should be no perfect synonyms. The slovenly use of language, for instance the employment of **cáru, sundar, báńká, chabílá**, etc. for 'beautiful' without distinction, is bad. The richness of language depends on expressing finer shades of thought in exact words. Differentiation in a very large number of synonyms is now fixed and popularized.

Examples—

lāimp (table lamp), **lál'ṭāin** (the hurricane lantern), **díyá** (earthen lamp);

shor (disagreeable and loud sound), **áhaṭ** (warning, say of footsteps);

choṭá (small), **súkṣma** (subtle), **ochá** (mean), **hín** (wanting in something);

dal (party), **jhur'maṭ** (a bevy of women), **bhíṛ** (crowd), **gucchá** (bunch), **lacchá** (a collection of silk threads), **ṭolí** (a collection of wicked persons), **mańḍ'lí** (a collection of good men);

áshram is the resort of a Rishi, **kuṭiyá** of a Sadhu, **jhońp'ṛí** of a poor man, **bhaṭ** of a fox, **bil** of a rat, **báńbí** of a snake, **thán** of a horse, and so on.

Compare **bál**, human hair (Beng. **bál**, pubic hair, differentiated from **cúlá**, hair), **jháńṭ**, pubic hair (Punjabi **jhańḍ**, child's first hair, and **jhúń**, pubic hair), **ún**, sheep's hair, wool, **ál**, manes, etc.

moṭá, fat (in general), **ghaná** thick (in arrangement), **gáṛhá**, thick (fluid or semi-fluid);

saphed, white, **uj'lá**, clean and white, **gorá**, white animal or person;

dekh'ná, to see, **ták'ná**, to look (implies effort and prolonged vision), **táṛ'ná**, to look with suspicion;

kah'ná, to say, **bol'ná**, to speak, **batáná**, to tell;

cah'caháná, to chirp, **cahak'ná**, to chirp and dance;

rambhánā, hin'hinānā, bal'balānā, mimiyānā are *the voices of cow, horse, camel and goat respectively.*

ṭhel'nā, to push deliberately and continually, **dhakel'nā,** to push abruptly and for a moment.

A layman would use **nirālā, anūṭhā** and **anokhā** indiscriminately, but an educated person would use **nirālā** to mean unique, **anūṭhā** to mean singular, and **anokhā** to mean peculiar. **anūṭhā** is certainly best of its kind and, therefore, likeable; **nirālā** may not be amiable, although it is separate in distinction, good or bad; **anokhā** is new with its characteristics. **an-ban, khaṭ-paṭ,** and **bigāṛ,** are differentiated. **an-ban** is a passive and negative state of discord; **khaṭ'paṭ** means that there is occasional quarrel between the parties; **bigāṛ** shows that the quarrel has assumed a serious form. **ṭakkar, jhaṭ'kā, ṭhokar, dhakkā, bhiṛant,** and **muṭh-bheṛ** have clear-cut difference of sense, meaning collision, jerk, kick, push (or shock), clash and encounter respectively.

Law, science and scientific study of various subjects including history, geography, philosophy, literature, language and arts necessitates distinction in signification. In recent years, more and more words have been confined to one and only one sense which is not to be shared by any other words. Hundreds of vocables have, to-day, become technical terms in the real sense of the word.

More Examples—

1.	**yogyatā,** ability	**kārya-kushal'tā,** efficiency
	pātratā, eligibility	**arhatā,** qualification
	guṇ, quality	**kṣam'tā,** capacity
	sāmarthya, capability.	
2.	**pariṣad,** council	**samiti,** committee
	nikāy, body.	
3.	**ulkā,** meteor	**niḥārikā,** nebula
	pucchal tārā, comet	**grah,** planet
	upagrah, satellite.	
4.	**duṣprayog,** ill-use	**durup'yog,** abuse
	kuprayog, misuse	**anup'yog,** non-use.
5.	**pīṛā,** pain	**dukh,** grief
	kaṣṭa, distress	**khed,** regret
	ved'nā, agony	**vyathā,** anguish
	shok, mourning, sorrow	**yāt'nā,** suffering.

The distinction between **tū, tum** and **āp** for 'you' is notable.

3. ii(c). Necessitated Discriminations.

Sometimes synonymous words continue as such for generations, but when new objects or new shades of an idea are discovered, it at length happens that a separation of meanings is made between them. Examples—

khár (Skt. **kṣár**) and **rákh** are the same, but with the discovery of common properties of alkaline substances, **khár** has come to be applied to 'alkali' or potash and **rákh**, to 'ashes'. Similarly **vāīd** is an Ayurvedic physician, **hakím** a Yunani physician and **ḍáktar** an allopathic physician and surgeon, although the three words are originally identical. Also compare—

háṭ, a village market, **maṅḍí**, a big market, **bázár**, shops in lines as in a city; Punj. **haṭṭí**, a shop;

shakkar, and **kháṅḍ** are identical. But in the Punjab and at many other places **shakkar** is brown sugar and **kháṅḍ** white sugar (i.e. **cíní**).

jhar'ná, is waterfall, and **sotá**, spring, though both words have had the same meaning,

par'cá, an examination paper, **par'cí**, a voting paper, a permit.

3. ii(d). Two sets of Usage.

It is true that literary Hindi has flooded the popular language with synonyms. But the very fact that one of the two series belongs to the popular language and the other to the learned and didactic style, suffices to show the difference of shade, or at least of usage, between them. To avoid monotony of sty'e, a learned writer might say **maĩn ne use márá to us'ne bhí mere úpar prahár kiyá**, but an ordinary speaker would say: **maĩn ne use márá, us'ne mujhe márá**, I struck him and he struck me.

Of synonyms we have already noted that discrimination exists in that one may be used in vulgar society, while the other is employed among cultured classes, e.g. **ṭaṭṭí** and **shauc**, latrine, have, in effect, the same signification, yet one is vulgar and the other is euphemistic. Similarly **mút'ná** and **laghushaṅká kar'ná**, to make water; **meh'rí** and **strí**, lady, (cf. Punj. **ran** and **bamh'ṭí**, wife); **laṅḍh** and **múrh**, stupid; etc.

Synonyms remain differentiated on account of their usage in different dialects. When they are taken up by a standard language they are generally used blindly and made co-incident and identical.

mah'rá actually means 'the quality of a chief' (**mahar**), but it is made synonymous with **baṛá** 'greatness'.

maráyal is made synonymous with **mariyal**, weak, almost dead, although it actually means 'one who is used to receive beating'. **manas'ná** is a very useful dialectical word meaning 'to resolve in mind', but it is understood to mean 'to desire' and made synonymous with **iccha kar'ná**. **bagar** is 'a cowpen' but it is made equivalent, sometimes, to **ghar**, house, and sometimes to **áṅgan**, 'courtyard'.

A closer semantic evaluation of dialectical terms used in the standard literary Hindi could alone enable such terms to be diversified into cultured idioms.

Then there are local differences of usage, so that, of two words of like meaning, one would be exclusively used to express precisely the same idea.

Examples—

áṭá, pisán, flour	**bāiṅgan, bhárṭá**, brinjal
junhari, jvár, a millet	**liṅḍah'rá, makkí**, maize
supári, chálí, betelnut	**tambákú, khāini**, chewing tobacco.

One set is used in western Hindi area and the other in the eastern area.

Lastly, we have noted, that identical terms are differentiated in their usage by Hindus and Muslims, or Hindus and Sikhs and so on. In the Punjab some Sikhs have a peculiar vocabulary of their own which they use amongst themselves. They call

anhí (blind) for **chán'ní**, sieve;

ujág'rí, enlightenment, for **lál'ṭāin**, lantern;

amrtí, nectar, for **lassí**, whey;

ár'band, a shelter-cloth, for **laṅgoṭá**, loin cloth; etc., etc.

Distinctions in the vocabularies of shopkeepers and zamindars, officials and menials, soldiers and civilians, etc. are well-known.

3. ii(e). Ordinary and Exalted Terms.

There are languages in which the various acts of life are not

designated in the same way if an exalted personage be concerned as when the ordinary man is in question.

Compare—

vah áyá, áp padhára, he came ;
baiṭho, tash'rif rakhie, be seated ;
áp, hazúr, you ;
ve, sar'kár, he.

3. ii(f). Religious and Secular Terms.

One set may be used in sacred style or language of religion, and another restricted to secular purposes, as—

pherá, parikramá, circum-ambulation	**ág jalí, agni pracaṅḍ huí,** fire burnt
páni, jal, water	**kitáb, grantha,** book
kháná, bhog, meal	**patte, (tul'sí) dal,** leaf
supárí, puṅgí phal, betel-nut	**ghaṛá, kalash,** jar
gobar, gūr, cow-dung	**cával, akṣat,** rice.

Compare Punj. **kitáb,** book, **pothí,** a religious book ; **miṭhái,** sweetmeat or pudding and **par'shád,** sweets distributed in the name of a deity.

3. ii(g). Recovery of Synonyms.

On the one hand there is a tendency to discriminate as culture grows and on the other hand many distinct words are disappearing from common life. In proportion as we multiply distinctions between intellectual functions, and between moral states or their manifestations, and consequently the words to express them, as we change the nomenclature of criticism, and subtilize the vocabulary of ethics and metaphysics, we incline to discard nice differences between terms properly belonging to material acts and objects and to suffer words expressive of them to perish.*

As Sir George Grierson warns us in the "Behar Peasant Life", farmers are losing those subtleties in many names of rural economy

* *G. P. Marsh : Lectures on English Language, p. 417.*

which were formerly distinguished by appropriate terms. The characteristic habits, tracks and other physical peculiarities of animals were formerly closely noted.

The synonymist ascertains significations by the evidence obtained in the most competent quarters. He asks the farmer for the proper distinction of rustic terms, he applies to the statesman to teach him the purport of political phraseology, and so on.

The tailor would tell us that **phatúhí, baniyán, gañjí, bañḍí, sad'rí, kur'tí,** and **váskaṭ** do not all refer to the same garment as the compiler of 'Hindí paryyáy'váci kosh' thinks, but to different kinds of a waistcoat. The tailor and the cobbler, between themselves, would inform us what distinctions exist between **síná,** to sew, **turap'ná,** to stitch, **ṭáńk'ná,** to tuck in, **gúńth'ná,** to plait and **gáńṭh'ná,** to repair. The goldsmith would enlighten us about the difference between **phúl, lúmg** and **kíl** (nose-ornaments), **biṅdí** and **ṭikulí,** (forehead ornaments), **muńd'rí, challá** and **aṅgúṭhí,** (forms of finger ring). The physician would be able to discriminate rightly between **jukám, reshá, pínas** and **nák'ṛá** (various forms of bad cold). The housewife would give us the distinction between **kal'chí, darví, kambí** and **cam'cá** (various kinds of spoons and ladles). We invite the attention of all specialists to come to the help of the synonymist.

3. ii(h). Etymological Distinctions.

The key to synonymy may also be found in the differing etymologies of synonyms. By this analysis we can arrive at special shades of meaning. There is a certain preparedness in such words to separate off in their meaning from one another, in as much as they originally belonged to different stocks. While it is true, to quote Trench,* that words may often ride very slackly at anchor on their etymologies, may be borne hither and thither by the shifting tides and currents of usage, yet they are, for the most part, still bound by them. Very few have broken away and drifted from their moorings altogether. The etymological meaning of words like **gaá** for cow, **macchar** for mosquito, **kal** for tomorrow or yesterday, **akṣat** for

*On the study of words. p. 163-164.

rice, is now untraceable in their current meaning. Yet it is true that etymological meaning, in general, persists, and it can come to our help when we insist on making distinctions.

Examples—

súkhá, dry, and **rúkhá**, rough, not smooth.

avasthá, present age (Skt. condition), **áyu**, the age from birth to death.

daridra, in distressed circumstances, **nirdhan**, without money, **dín**, pitiable.

bapurá, wretched, **becárá**, helpless.

laṅg'ṛá, one who limps by one leg, **paágu**, crippled may be by both legs, **khaṅjá**, one who walks haltingly.

aṛ'can, hesitation, hindrance, **rukávaṭ**, obstacle.

kaṅjús, one who is worried about collecting too much (**kaṛ'cús**), **krpaṇ**, one whose living is pitiable, and **sám**, who does not like to spend.

lubháná, to give temptation, < Skt. **lubh**, **bah'lána**, to amuse, **phus'lána**, to dissuade.

uṭháná, to raise, to rouse, **jagáná**, to awaken.

ján'ná, to know, **samajh'ná**, to know well, understand.

páná, to receive, **lah'ná**, to obtain.

píná, to drink, **aṅcav'ná**, to sip.

saṅsár, the world, **vishva**, the universe.

luṭerá, robber, **baṭ'már**, highwayman.

ab'lá, the weak sex, **márí**, woman.

chátra, pupil, **vidyárthí**, student.

thám'ná, to hold, **pakaṛ'ná**, to catch.

It may be seen that in dealing with the above words we have sought to refer their usage to their etymologies, to follow the guidance of these and by the same aid to trace the lines of demarcation which divide them.

3. ii(i). The force of Usage, again.

It may, however, be remembered that etymology, for practical purposes, is generally but a fallacious guide. Custom and usage are proper guides and they must be consulted first. In a language of multiple origin like Hindi, there are many sets of words to the

different members of which etymology would lead one to attach th **same signification.** But custom has, in the majority of cases, decide in favour of economy, and appropriate to each some special function In some instances this differentiation has not yet commenced, in others it has commenced but is not complete. Yet we find a marke tendency in usage to prefer one of two words for one, and th other for another, of the meanings or shades of meanings involved Examples of this differentiation (by custom or usage) of term etymologically identical in meaning are—

svapna, nidrá, (sleep), **svapna,** dream, **nidrá,** sleep.

gúṅth'ná, gúṅdh'ná, (to plait), **gúṅdh'ná,** to knead **gúṅth'ná** to plait.

peṭ, peṛ, (body), **peṭ,** belly, **peṛ,** tree.

koṭhí, koṭh'ṛí, (apartment), **koṭhí,** a modern house, **koṭh'ṛí** a small room.

yátrí, baṭohí, (traveller), **yátrí,** a pilgrim, **baṭohí,** a traveller

puráná, prácin, (old), **puráná,** old, **prácin,** ancient.

nafá, lábh, (gain), **lábh,** gain, **nafá,** profit in a bargain.

níti, nyáy, (manner), **níti,** policy, **nyáy,** justice.

3. ii(j). The Trend continues.

"When the popular mind has once devised a certain kind of differentiation, it is naturally tempted to complete the series." Compare—

prem, love in general, **sneh,** for youngsters, **shraddhá,** for elders and religion, **bhakti,** for God or gods, **praṇay,** between lovers.

man thinks, **citta** knows, **hrday** feels, **mánas** desires, **antah' karaṇ** is conscience.

dukh, unhappiness, is related to **man, shok** to **citta, kṣobh** is disappointment, **khed** is despair, **viṣád** is illusion and **kaṣṭa** is trouble (physical).

ṭeṛhá is crooked, **báṅká** is curved, **tir'chá** is slanting and **lah'riyá** serpentine.

cup is silent, **súná** still and numb, **gúṅgá** unable to speak, **mauna** unwilling to speak.

pílá, yellow, **piṅgal,** copper colour, **pítal,** brazen colour,

pāṇḍur, pale.

Compare English shades of red colour, namely, red, scarlet, vermilion, carmine, crimson, pink, maroon, cerise, puce, etc.

These examples are taken simply to show how various synonyms brought from various sources and various languages can be discriminated and how our thoughts can be enriched by such discrimination.

Let us remark, by the way, that thousands of other words in Hindi are still waiting for such a discrimination.

Those distinctions, which still wait to be made, we may fitly regard "as so much reversionary wealth in our mother-tongue". It is the best characteristic of a well-dressed man that his clothes fit him. They should not too be small and shrunken here and loose there. We must know the exactest correspondents and fittest exponents of thought. We should develop the instinct which seeks dissimilarity in the similarity of meaning, the instinct that tells us that such and such a use is right and in conformity with the genius of the language. We badly need dictionaries of discriminated synonyms in Hindi, dictionaries which can show the various shades of meanings, the small, latent and partial differences between the so-called synonyms. Until writers and speakers of the standard Hindi determine the ultimate distinction of synonyms, further research is impossible.

3. iii. Rise of Doublets.

3. iii(a). Law of Differentiation.

How meanings may shift, either widely or slightly, and how indeterminable *a priori* the shiftings are, may be most clearly seen from the differentiation of 'doublets' or words of the same etymological meaning but with materially different usage. The Law of Differentiation in language operates here not only on the inner meaning of such pairs but also on their outer form. In fact, two forms scarcely ever last unless used in somewhat different senses. Doublets are forms in which differentiation has made itself more or less strongly felt.

Phonetic differentiation, we have noted in a previous Chapter, is also effected by prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and other sound changes to

produce semantic differentiation. Doublets are a form of the same phenomenon.

3. iii(b). Sanskrit Doublets.

The following doublets have been inherited from Sanskrit by the literary Hindi.

áhár, food ; **áharaṇ,** to carry away.
vidhán, constitution ; **vidhi,** method.
bhog, offering ; **bhoj,** feast ; **bhojan,** food.
shítal, cold ; **shít'lá,** small pox.
ghrta, fat, ghee ; **ghṛṇá,** warmth of the heart, pity, hatred.
prakrta, true ; **prákrta,** natural.
bhram, illusion ; **bhramaṇ,** wandering.

3. iii(c). Hindi Doublets.

(a) Phonetic laws give two or even more forms of the same word. Compare—

bach'ṛá, calf ; **bacherá,** colt.
makkhí, fly ; **mákhí,** bee.
pacáná, to digest ; **pakáná,** to cook.
khár, potash ; **chár,** ashes.
ṭhaṇḍá, cold ; **ṭháṛá,** upright.
dakkhin, south ; **dáhiná,** right.
khiyáná, to wear out ; **khíj'ná,** to be vexed.
pán, betel ; **panná,** leaf, < **parṇa.**

Compare Punjabi **jut,** to be yoked, and **juṭ,** to be joined, **cap'lí,** shoe, **cáp'ṛí,** layer.

Also note phonetic semantic variations in Chapter II.

(b) We may also place in this group doublets which differ only by a slight change in their terminations. The following, for example, are not feminine forms in the real sense.

Compare—

thátá, protector ; **thátí,** deposit.
pavitrá, tumeric, silken garland ; **pavitrí,** a ring of Darbha gram.

dulattá, one having two legs; **dulattí**, a kick with two legs.
nágar, clever, as a citizen; **nág'rí**, Hindi script.
dhaṁr, wild pigeon; **dhaṁrí**, white cow.
adhelá, half pice; **adhelí**, half rupee.
duraṅgá, having two colours; **duraṅgí**, treachery.

(c) To this series we may add some syntactical doublets, or expressions formed of a substantive and a modifier, in which the modifier takes a different meaning according as it precedes or follows the substantive.

cáh'tí bívi hai, she is a beloved wife, and **bívi cáh'tí hai**, the wife wants.
acchá rogí hai, it is a good patient, and **rogí acchá hai**, the patient is better.

In sentences of the first type the modifier qualifies the noun and forms a composite word with it. On the contrary, in sentences of the other type, it has signification by itself.

3. iii(d). Tsm. and Tbh. Forms.

Sometimes tsm. (learned) and tbh. (popular) forms exist for semantic differentiation.

garbhiṇí, pregnant; **gábhin**, pregnant (animal).
hrday, heart; **hiyá**, mind.
jív, animal; **jí**, heart.

(a) In general, tsm. words have wider signification than their tbh. equivalents.

Compare—

sthán, place, **thán**, a stable.
jyeṭṭha, biggest, **jeṭh**, elder brother of the husband.
sambandhí, relative, **sam'dhí**, child's father-in-law.
puruṣ, person, **pur'khá**, ancestors.
cúrṇa, powder, **cún**, **cúná**, lime.
ṣaṇḍ, impotent, **sáṇḍ**, a bull.

(b) Of several meanings of a tsm. word, one is retained by the equivalent.

Compare—

pṛṣṭha, (page, back)	**píṭh**, back
vaṁsh, (bamboo, family)	**báṁs**, bamboo

pád, (foot, 1/4, etc.) **páṅv,** foot
patra, (leaf, page, paper) **pattá,** leaf.

(c) Sometimes a tsm. word is restricted to an elevated sense. Compare—

darshan, sight of god **dekh'ná,** to see.
caritra, conduct, life sketch, **carittar,** trickery ; Punj. **calittar.**

(d) Often a tbh. word has undergone a number of changes, but when a tsm. word is borrowed, it is used in its classical sense, the word having been taken by the learned classes from classical literature.

Compare—

H. **bhabhút,** ashes, Skt. **vibhúti,** prosperity.
H. **suhág,** husband, Skt. **saubhágya,** fortune.
H. **dúlhá,** bridegroom, Skt. **durlabha,** rare.
H. **pás,** near, Skt. **párshva,** side.
H. **ták,** stare, Skt. **tarka,** argue.
H. **ṭhaṅḍá,** cold, Skt. **stabdha,** blocked.
H. **bhaṅvar,** whirlpool, Skt. **bhramara,** bee.
H. **sahal,** easy, Skt. **sulabha,** easily obtainable.
H. **bíṭh,** shit, Skt. **viṣṭhá,** human excretion.
H. **gáṅṭh,** knot, Skt. **granṭha,** book.

3. iii(e). Popular and Foreign Forms.

There are cases of doublets in which one form is native and the other a loan.

Examples—

táp, fever.	**táb** (Per.), power
páṅv, foot of a person	**páyá** (Per.), foot of a bed or chair
saptáh, week	**haftá** (Per.), Saturday (Also week)
aṅkur, sprout	**aṅgúr** (Per.), grape
pad, foot (from Skt.)	foot (Eng.), 12 inches
cakra (Skt.), round	cycle (Eng.), bicycle
gárí, vehicle	car (?) (Eng.)

As a matter of course, words from European languages forming doublets with Hindi words must be very few. Because, first, the

number of such words is very small, and, secondly, the relationship between Indian Aryan languages and Persian is closer than that between Indian and European languages which separated at a much remoter date. Words that have come from other Indian languages to co-ordinate with Hindi are also not many.

Examples—

Beng. **galpa,** story	H. **gappa,** gossip
Guj. **cálú,** in force	H. **cal'tá,** moving.

3. iii(f). Foreign Doublets.

Sometimes both forms may be foreign, generally Perso-Arabic, as—

barbar, barbarian	**babbar,** lion
sharáb, wine	**shar'bat,** syrup
sabab, cause	**as'báb,** goods
bekár, without work	**begár,** forced labour.

3. iv. Contamination.

When two synonymous forms arise in the mind simultaneously, the speaker is sometimes at a loss to decide on the spur of the moment which form he should use. He utters the first element of the one and, generally, the second element of the other.

Examples—

virog, separation < **viraha** and **viyoga.**
botám, button, < **baṭṭan** and **godám.**
byoṅt, matter, < **bát** and **vyavasthá.**
laṭṭha, stick, < **laguḍa** and **yaṣṭhi.**
jagah, place, < Per. **jáy** and **gáh.**
bhucca, stupid, < **bhut'ná** and **lucca.**
mál'godám, godown, < **mál'kháná** and **godám,** godown.
cun'ná, to select, < Skt. **cinoti,** chooses and **cuṇṭati,** to cut off.
chíl'ná, to peel, < Skt. **chidyate,** and **kṣvílati.**

Cf. L. **khenú,** ball, < Skt. **khelá,** plaything, **kanduka,** ball.

Punj. **júṛá,** top-knot of hair, < Skt. **jaṭá** and **cúḍá.**
líkh, line, < Skt. **rekhá** and H. **lakír.**

4. CONCLUSION.

4. Conclusion.

The study of synonymy proves that, in a particular language, no two words are exactly equivalent. If there are any, they cannot all persist. Only the fittest one will survive leaving others either to die their natural death or turn into literary synonyms in the true sense of the word. The synonyms actually express nice alternatives of by-sense, feeling or tone, and that, in fact, is the test of an advanced language and that also is the aim of synonymy.

Sometimes two words appear perfectly equivalent, but there must be other contexts wherein the distinction would be clear. **púrá,** full, and **samápta,** finished, may be convertible in **merá kám púrá ho gayá,** my work is finished ; but we cannot replace **púrá** by **samápta** in **merá rupayá púrá kar do,** make up my amount.

Synonymy, therefore, aims at two things at a time : It recognizes the 'core-sense' or 'community of meaning' in two or more words which somehow and somewhere can replace each other, and analyses the 'by-sense' or 'distinctive meaning' in each one of them, believing that each word in the language has an individuality and exclusive function of its own. This fact suggests that a dictionary is always misleading and unrealiable for learning the exact meaning and use of a word. A dictionary would make absolute synonyms of partial synonyms and partial synonyms of absolute ones. A word has numerous facets of by-sense, delicate degrees or shades of meaning and latencies of expression beyond the meaning given in the dictionary, howsoever comprehensive and precise it may claim to be. This means that synonymy as a subject of semantics, historical as well as descriptive, can make a unique contribution to our power with words.

V

CONDITIONS OF SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

V

CONDITIONS OF SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

1. INTRODUCTORY.

1. Introductory.

In asking what are the conditions of semantic change, we touch on the most obscure and most difficult question connected with semantics. Paul, Vendryes, Breal, Carnoy and other master semanticians have not dealt with this question. From their observations, however, we can sift certain facts. Paul strongly believes that "change of usage results from the ordinary exercise of speech", i.e. all change is subconscious and it is the result of merely psychological conditions among which he reckons differentiation, analogy, economy of expression, the cultured level of the individual and of the society, etc. But he admits at one point (p. 12) that the conscious intention of single individuals, grammarians, technicians, teachers, discoverers, scientists and others is also an important cause of change.

Breal also thinks that analogy, differentiation, metaphor and contagion or association play an important part in effecting change of meaning.

J. H. Bredsdorff, a Dane enumerated, in 1821, the following factors—

(1) Mishearing or misunderstanding, (2) defective memory, (3) laziness, (4) tendency towards and influence of analogy and real or fancied similarity, (5) the desire to be distinct, and (6) the need of expressing fresh ideas.

No. (1), (2) and (3) could, of course, be given under the single heading of laxity. "Laziness" is no force. In fact no linguistic development could have been possible if laziness dominated language. Man speaks, on the whole, with a constant degree of energy, his attention varies from moment to moment, but less attention to certain parts of speech cannot be dubbed as "laziness".

Prof. Sayce (in the Science of language, Vol. I, Chapter III) enumerates similar causes, namely, emphasis, analogy and laziness.

These causes, however, are just esoteric and incomplete. Dr. I. J. Taraporewala attempts to give a more comprehensive list and enumerates the following.

(1) Figurative Use;
(2) Change of environment;
  (a) Geographical, (b) Social, (c) Material;
(3) Politeness in addressing people;
(4) Euphemistic use;
(5) Irony;
(6) Emotional emphasis and exaggeration;
(7) Prevailing use of one type out of a class to denote the whole;
(8) Ignorance or misapprehension;
(9) Indefinite meaning of words themselves;
(10) Differences between individual conceptions of a word;
(11) Predominence of one element, as in **lāl pag'rī** for a constable;
(12) Unconscious inclusion of a secondary meaning as in 'Hindi'.

On a closer examination we shall discover that the list, though long, does not carry us much further. If 'figure of speech' has to be taken as a cause at all, Nos. (3), (4), (5) and even (6) would be included in it. They are simply 'figures'. No. (7) is a change itself and not a cause. No. (10) is a corollary of No. (8) and (9). So also, No. (12). Nos. (7) and (11) are not quite different.

The most useful analysis is, perhaps, that given by Tucker (pp. 380-1), who classifies the chief motives of changes as thus—

(1) Indefinite width of meaning in a word as originally applied, causing diversity of use, by which he means vagueness of meaning in a word itself.

(2) Predominance of one element in a thing named, causing a more special application of the name of that element. When a thing is named or thought of, a picture of that thing is called up before the mind. In such a picture certain elements or features will be more distinct than the others. Which elements, features, or characteristics these will be, will depend on the experience which the speaker or listener has had of the thing in question. The most obvious instances are those in which the name belonging to a class of objects becomes restricted to one species of them.

mṛga, wild animal, came to mean a particular animal to which the speakers or listeners were accustomed, i.e. 'deer'; Skt. **parṇam**, leaf, > H. **pán**, betel-leaf, which they commonly used in daily life. **pansárí**, was originally a general grocer. He now deals in drugs only. **yátrá**, journey, is a journey to a religious place (as in pre-railway times journey was usually undertaken by pilgrims). Thus terms are restricted according as they are first used by those who are intimately concerned with them. They originate in connections and circumstances which explain them.

(3) Unconscious inclusion of a secondary meaning due to a natural association of ideas, and thence either a gradual transference to that secondary meaning, or else a widening to comprise it. As dancing and prostitution became the chief characteristics of temple-girls, **dev'dásí**, slave girl of the god, came to mean a 'poor girl devoted to prostitution in an idol-temple'.

(4) The effort at force or clearness of expression, or at liveliness, causing a figurative application of words and hence a broadening of their meanings. Control is qualified by **kará**, hard, stiff, although the adjective relates to concrete objects. Even a word may be called **míṭhá**, sweet, although sweetness relates to tongue.

The effort towards force and vivacity leads to two departures from the normal use of words. There is first the emphasis which substitutes a stronger word for a weaker but truer one, as **atyaṅt burá** for **bahut burá**. A frequent use of such intensifying or exaggerating terms, leads to a discounting of their meaning. They become weak and colourless.

Often emphasis is humorous and deliberate. The 'poetic' faculty in mankind—which, as Aristotle puts it, perceives the resemblances between things—expresses the unseen in terms of the seen, the intangible in terms of the tangible, and so on. Thus we get the figurative

or metaphorical application of things.

(5) Emotional emphasis, leading to a misuse of a term in a wider or weaker sense than the true one.*

(6) Euphemism and irony, or a desire to avoid the unpleasant or less courteous terms, and thence a new sense acquired by the euphemistic substitute. These figures of speech, also called litotes (or understatement), play no little part in the development of meanings. Examples—

svargavás, originally, 'abode in the heavens', death,

haz'rat, originally, 'presence', then 'a great man', a clever person.

(7) Laxity in the use of words, through ignorance or misapprehension. A word is misused by a speaker who has never properly understood it, but who, on hearing it from others, has in larger or smaller measure misconceived the sense. Such misconception is not likely to be diminished when a superficial education is general and when the vocabulary of the language, particularly in polysyllables, is vast. In point of fact, the misunderstanding and the association of the secondary idea operate together. For details see the section 2. vi. below.

(8) Meaning of certain classes of words may vary from epoch to epoch, or in different regions of the same language, through a diversity in social circumstances or in material practices and appliances. The subject will be fully discussed in the next section.

Even this scheme is overlapping. All these conditions may be brought under three headings, namely, psychological, logical and structural, and the following classification would be found more scientific and comprehensive.

Psychological conditions include (i) Historical and Cultural Events, (ii) Emphasis, (iii) Association, (iv) Analogy, (v) Circumlocution, and (vi) Laxity.

Under logical conditions we take, especially, Differentiation, and Syntactical and Technical needs.

Structural conditions are philological, phonological and morphological.

All minor circumstances of change will be taken up in the next chapter on "Important Variations".

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*This, we think, is included in No. (4).

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

(i) HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS.
- (a) HISTORICAL STAMP.
- (b) INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS.
- (c) CHANGE OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS.
- (d) ECONOMIC CHANGE: A CONDITION OF SEMANTIC CHANGE.
- (e) CULTURAL CONDITION, NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL.
- (f) INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL BELIEFS.
- (g) GROWTH OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS.

(ii) EMPHASIS.
- (a) SHIFTS ON EMPHASIS.
- (b) CHANGE OF SEMANTIC VALUE DUE TO EMOTIONAL CAUSES.

(iii) ASSOCIATION.
- (a) ASSOCIATION: A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS.
- (b) GENERALIZATION BY ASSOCIATION.
- (c) TRANSFERENCE.

(iv) ANALOGY.
- (a) IMAGES OF OBJECTS IN WORDS AND MEANINGS.
- (b) TRANSFERENCE OF MEANINGS.
- (c) ABSTRACTION AND CONCRETION.
- (d) GENERALIZATION.
- (e) PARTIAL RESEMBLANCE.
- (f) POPULAR ETYMOLOGY.
- (g) METAPHOR IS SIMPLY ANALOGY.

(v) CIRCUMLOCUTION.
- (a) EUPHEMISM: A QUESTION OF DECENCY.
- (b) PERSONAL CAUSES.
- (c) SOCIAL AND MORAL EUPHEMISM.
- (d) RELIGIOUS EUPHEMISM.
- (e) NATIONAL EUPHEMISM.
- (f) IRONICAL EUPHEMISM.
- (g) EUPHEMISTIC EUPHEMISM.
- (h) CACOPHEMISM.
- (i) GENERAL PERIPHRASIS.

(vi) LAXITY.
- (a) MISAPPREHENSION AND MISAPPLICATION.
- (b) IMITATION.
- (c) ELLIPSIS AND MEANING CHANGE.

V

Words express things, ideas, facts and feelings. The development of new words or transference in the meanings of old ones, is, therefore, an echo of those changes which affect the thought of a people or its mode of feeling. According to Behaviourism, all linguistic changes have as their origin some personal and, therefore, it would seem, arbitrary action. But we must not forget that if linguistic changes, and, in particular, changes of meaning, presuppose personal causes, they have no chance of permanence except when they find agreement of feeling and thinking on the part of the multitude which then accepts the neologism. There must be accordance between the psychological state of the author and that of the people, or else the neologism does not live.

The facts seem to divide into two groups: (1) changes of meaning due to objective causes exterior to the mind, (2) changes of meaning due to subjective causes within the mind. The study of the first group will throw light on the history of ideas and facts among the people. The second group will include the expressions of general ideas and feelings common, not to such a people, but to the larger part of the peoples in the same state of civilization.

Generally speaking, historical and cultural events, emphasis, association, analogy and circumlocution, are national conditions of linguistic change. Each nation has its own conditions, and although we find that sometimes the channel of semantic development agrees with that of a similar word in another country, the coincidence is merely accidental. On the other hand, economy as a condition of linguistic change works almost universally in the same way in a particular group or nature of words.

2. i. Historical and Cultural Events.

Of the objective causes, historical events play a prominent part in semantic variations. The foreign invasions of India, nomadic inroads, Greek institutions, rise of Hindu Imperialism, Arab, Persian and Turk settlements, Semitic laws, the English language, the revival of Sanskrit, the immense development of science in modern times, the rise of new classes, contact with the west, social and national awakening, these are causes enough to name only the most noteworthy, which have contributed to the transformation of Indian civilization,

besides the changes which the natural course of time has impressed on manners, and which our advancing literature has imposed on the mind. And if we were to consider the religious movements of various periods in India, we could just imagine how many new ideas and facts must have penetrated into the treasure of human thought. For the expression of these ideas and facts Hindi has had to take recourse to a number of linguistic means of which semantic change of the existing word-material is most prominent.

2. i(a). Historical Stamp.

The association of a word with some historical event, place or person restricts its meaning, as this becomes the popular meaning of that word. **videh,** originally 'one without body', relates to Raja Janak and even to his country i.e. Mithila, and **vaidehi,** which signifies 'a daughter of Videha' or 'a woman from the Videha country', has come to mean 'Sita'. **vidarbha** is the old name of Berar and **vaidarbhi** should mean 'a woman from Vidarbha or Berar', but it generally signifies either Rukmini or Damayanti. **bīṛā uṭhānā** originally means 'taking up a betel-leaf' but it has come to signify 'to undertake a responsibility', as the Rajputs used to express their pledge to perform a task by taking up a betel-leaf (a gauntlet, as it were) in the presence of their fellow-warriors. **cām ke dām** literally means leather token-money, but on account of its historical association with the rule of the famous water-carrier who reigned for a couple of days in the time of Humayun, it signifies 'a forced government'.

2. i(b). Influence of Social and Religious Conditions.

Words change in meaning with the changing conditions in the social order of the people. The transference of the word **paṇḍit,** a learned man, to a learned Brahman, and then to any Brahman, was necessitated by actual social conditions, for when the vast number of learned people were Brahmans, the evaluation of a learned man as Brahman only was a psychological attitude. The transference of the word to designate a law-officer under the East

India Company was also due to similar circumstances. **khatrí** is from Skt. **kṣatriya** which means a member of the military caste. But in the United Provinces it is understood to designate, quite naturally, a member of the mercantile class or a Vaiṣya, on account of his occupation as such irrespective of the fact that he claims a descent from some warrior caste. **var,** originally the best person, came to signify a chosen husband as he was, in fact, the best and the choicest of the persons who sought the hand of a bride. He was actually chosen out of a lot. In later times, the word was used for a bridegroom or a husband, although he was never selected. **pitrkarma** meant 'service of the parents' and as it was to be performed devotedly by a son it was also called **shráddha.** With the rise of new religious ideas, the same words were applied to the funeral rite or annual ceremony of giving oblations in the name of the departed souls of the parents.

Thus changes in social and religious conditions of the people are fully represented in the meaning of words.

Some words will very well compare the life of our ancestors and of ourselves.

More examples—

Skt. **upádhyáyah** (teacher) > H. **ojhá,** wizard.

Skt. **ácárya** (scholar) > H. **acáraj,** an undertaker.

Skt. **shvashura** (husband's father) > H. **sasur,** wife's or husband's father.

Skt. **vashiṣṭha** (a sage) > H. **basiṭh,** a messenger.

Betrothal was simply **vágdán,** giving a word. It now entails a profuse and unwanted series of ceremonies.

Skt. **grantha,** a knot a book, is in Hindi used generally to denote a huge book particularly of a religious character.

2. i(c). Change of Political Conditions.

Semantic change varies with political conditions. **kot'vál** was once a military officer (**koṭapálakah,** keeper of the fort), but now he is a police officer. It may be noted that in mediaeval times military and executive duties were combined. 'Faujdari' relates to the office of the faujdar, commander of an army. In Mughal times the faujdars were also entrusted with magisterial and executive powers.

The offices have since been separated and **fauj'dárí** now simply means 'criminal cases', or 'criminal justice'. **nizám,** originally 'a manager', has since the later Mughal times come to signify 'a ruler', and more particularly 'the Nizam of Hyderabad'. **paṭ'várí (paṭṭah,** a badge, and **várí, válí,** possessing) was, at one time, a peon wearing the badge of his office. Compare Guj. **paṭáváṇo,** a peon. With the rise of British bureaucracy, he has become a village official.

More examples—

Tah'síl'dár, a collector, < Per. **tah'síl,** receiving, collecting, denotes now an executive officer of subdivision of a district.

More examples—

Ar. **zil'a,** a rib, a side, a part, > H. **jilá,** district; **paṅcáyat** meant 'a collection of five', but now it means a meeting of a particular society consisting of any number of persons, usually met for arbitration.

Skt. **náyaka,** leader, > H. **náyak,** the lowest officer in the Indian army.

English 'Congress', assembly of men, in Hindi it refers to a political body.

Thus words may be restricted, generalized and transferred in signification.

2. i(d). Economic change a Condition of Semantic change.

The progress in the material conditions of existence is mirrored in the new meanings of a large number of words in Hindi. **patra** originally meant 'a leaf'. It came to be applied to a 'letter' for which a leaf (say a palm leaf) was usually used. After that, when paper came to be manufactured and employed in place of leaf, the word **patra** changed its meaning accordingly. It meant 'a sheet of paper', 'a leaf of book', and now with the evolution of newspaper, the same word is significant. The history of the meaning of **gharé,** a pitcher, then a chronometer-pitcher, a chronometer, such as **dhúp gharí,** and lastly a watch or a clock, is similar. The names of seeds denoting weights define the actual economic system of the Indians.

Compare—

ratti, a seed of the Abrus Precatorius, =1/96 of a tola.

V

máshá < **máṣa**, a kind of kidney bean = 1/12 of a tola.

jau, barley, a weight lighter than a Ratti.

With the increase of professions, trades and interests, the same words have been applied to various objects and ideas. **golí** is a bullet to a soldier, a reel of yarn to a tailor, a pill to a patient or to a physician. **nárí**, is a drain to a householder, a vein to a physician, a vegetable to a grocer, and a stalk to a gardener.

More examples—

pustak < M. Per. **posta**, parchment, is now **pothí (pustiká)**, a book.

tár, a thread, a wire, a string of a musical instrument, and a telegram.

shíshá, in Persian means 'a cup', and as the cup was usually made of glass, the word has since been employed in this sense and also to mean 'a mirror'.

mashál is a torch in Arabic. It has come to mean a fire-brand in Hindi.

retí is related to sand. It was, perhaps, a sand-paper. But now it means 'a file' which is made of iron and which is, however, used for the same purpose.

H. **áṛhat**, commission, may be compared with Skt. **ádadháti**, directs, puts down, and Pkt. **adahai**, orders. **áṛhatí**, was first a person who directed business or ordered articles of merchandise. But now he is a commission agent.

Skt. **ṭaṅkakah**, a stamped coin, especially of silver, > H. **ṭaká**, a two-pice copper coin.

Skt. **ṭaṅka**, a weight of silver equal to four *mashas*, but H. **chaṭáṅk** = 60 *mashas*, not six ṭankas or 24 *mashas*.

2. i(e). Cultural conditions: National and Individual.

These examples fully prove that meanings change as culture changes. The more a nation has advanced in culture, the more numerous and diverse are the acceptations accumulated by the terms of which it makes use. The scope of meaning is conditioned by the state of the culture of the individual speaker or even the listener. Individuals understand the meanings of words according to their experience and cultural conceptions. Note that the peasants,

shopkeepers, and wandering tribes have each their own vocabularies unintelligible to others. The same words may signify different objects to a boy and to an old man, to a woman and to a man, to a citizen and to a rustic. The different effect of abusive language on a villager and on a cultured citizen is a notable example.

Similarly the scope of meaning is conditioned by the state of the culture of the whole community.

dípávalí, a line of lamps, the Divali festival; **hukká pání**, smoking pipe and water, community relationship; **dharma**, duty, righteousness, religion; **diválá** burning of a lamp, bankruptcy; **rakṣábandhan**, lit. tying of protection, the Solono festival when sisters tie a cord on their brothers' arm; **panc**, one of the five, an arbiter; **ek'veṇí**, a woman with one braid of hair, a widow; **satyágrah**, persistency in truthfulness, civil disobedience; **harijan**, a man of God, a Sudra; and hundreds of other historical words have true significance for those who intimately understand Indian institutions, ancient as well as modern. It may also be noted how the words **dharma**, religion, **ácár**, character, **vyav'hár**, conduct, **ahiṁsá**, non-injury, **viváh**, marriage, **var**, a bridegroom, etc. have raised a variety of conceptions in different ages according to the cultural standards of those people. It may further be added that the words **nirlajja**, shameless, **nástik** or **káfir**, atheist, **págí**, sinner, etc. change in meaning not only in the different times of the history of a nation but also with different peoples speaking Hindi. Semantic evaluation is, in main, a cultural question.

The degradation of several words is also due to cultural causes. Compare—

koṭheválí, housemistress = prostitute.

mahájan, a great man = banker, shopkeeper.

ṭaṭṭí, a shelter = latrine.

(For further details see the Section on Pejoration in the next chapter.)

Foreign words change their meanings due to diversity of character in foreign culture and our own.

Compare—

dar'gáh (Per. gate), shrine, court	**meṭ** (Eng. companion) chief coolie
pharad (Per. list, account), outer fold of a quilt	**amír** (Per. command), a rich man

garíb (Ar. a stranger), poor
khat (Per. line), letter
hazár (Per. presence), Sir
steshan (Eng. place), Rly. station.

The Spirit of nationalism which hates foreign elements is also responsible for the degradation of words from other languages. Compare—

yárí (Per. friendship), illicit connection
ustádí (Per. mastery), trickry
cálák (Per. expert), clever, cunning
nafar (Per. a number of men) servant, labourer
duniyásáz (Per. God), cheat, flatterer
dimág (Ar. brain), pride.

2. i(f). Influence of National beliefs.

The history of manners and beliefs, customs as well as superstitions is indicated in the changes of meaning presented by the words **aút** (Skt. **aputra**, childless), fool; **vádhita** (orig. pained), obliged; **sanícará**, (born on Saturday), unfortunate, having dirty habits; **ranḍí** (Skt. **raṇḍá**, widow), prostitute; **vámá** (orig. left), wife (as she has to be kept on the left); etc.

The prejudice for righthandedness is shown in the changed meanings of **dakṣa** which now means 'expert' or 'strong'. The broom is called **barh'ní** (lit. increaser) to ward off any evil attaching to the act of removal. **báv'lá** is related to air, but it means 'a mad man', as the popular belief says that a man goes mad when affected by air. **vṛṣalá** originally meant a Sudra girl. It now signifies 'a woman in menses' as she is as untouchable as a Sudra.

More examples are—

parvatári, enemy of the mountains = Indra.
nil'kaṇṭh, one with a blue throat = Shiva.
sarvagrás, full morsel = full eclipse of the sun or the moon.
muṅh'kálá, face-black = infamy.

There are words the meaning of which was entirely different from now and often absolutely incompatible with our present tendencies, habits and creeds, scientific as well as religious, social as well as political. An analysis of the past history alone explains such disparities. Sometimes the meaning may be due to situations that we cannot reconstruct. It is possible to conjecture from the change

of the meaning of **prahara** (H. **pahar, pah'rá**) from 'stroke,' to 'time' or 'watch', that the time was marked by giving strokes; (compare also **das baje,** ten strokes, 10 o'clock), or of **cauki** from a square frame to 'a police station' that the first police station was simply a shed resting on four posts, or of **sútrapát,** from 'dropping a thread' to a 'beginning' that that was, perhaps, the custom at some time, or of Skt. **paṭṭah,** a tablet, to H. **paṭṭá** a title-deed, that the latter was, perhaps, given on a tablet, or of Skt. **maṇikár,** a diamond smith, to H. **manihár,** a vendor of glass-bangles, that with the changing conditions the same profession undertook the sale of artificial diamonds, jewels and later of glass ornaments.

But compare—

Skt. **dakṣiṇa,** on the right hand, H. **dakkhin,** South ; **ṣaḍyantra,** a six-fold machinery, a conspiracy ; **sárhesátí** seven and a half, evil.

2. i(g). Growth of Human Institutions.

One of the most potent reasons for the development of new senses is that language is called upon, and does its best, to cope with and express all the self-enriching and growing branches of human knowledge and aspiration.

rasáyan (originally, a compound of juices or medicines, an elixir vital) = chemistry.

mudraṇ (originally, to seal) = printing, also compare **chápá.**

Skt. **romiká,** hair, > H. **rúí,** cotton.

Skt. **mantrin,** one familiar with Vedic hymns, a magician, a secret-keeper, > H. **mantrí,** minister, secretary.

Skt. **mahámátra,** great in measure, a great officer, > H. **mahávat,** an elephant-driver.

Skt. **pradhána,** chief minister, commander-in-chief, > H. **pradhán,** president.

har'kárá, (Per. a man for every business), messenger, a post-man.

Many words become technical terms in this way. Compare **yog, shástra, chand, vijñyán, dharma, mandir,** etc.

With the rise of new ideas and new institutions, new words, new in form or new in meaning, are of course, essential.

The progress in the material conditions of existence appears with

the meaning of **gárí**, vehicle, a railway train, a motor car; Skt. **mañca**, a platform, > H. **mañjá**, a bedstead, Skt. **dhánya** (from, **dhana**, wealth), grain, > H. **dhán**, rice; Skt. **sthána**, place, > H. **thán**, stable, and **thaná**, a police station; **surkhí**, red stuff, pounded brick, rouge.

The progress in general education is attested by the changed meanings of **guru**, an elderly person, a preceptor, a teacher, a religious head; **vidyálay**, a study-room, a school, a school of an indigenous character (also compare **páṭh'shálá**), **mahávidyálay**, a big school, a college; **parcá** (Per. a piece), paper; **grantha**, a bundle, a book, a religious book, a book (again).

These examples fully prove that meanings change as human institutions grow. With the increase of professions, trades and interests, uses of the same words become restricted and differentiated. Examples—

moh'rá—foremost part of a thing (general), front of the army (military), a chessman (by players).

sáz—preparation (< Per. **sázidan**, to prepare), concord, equipment, military kit, musical instrument, harness.

máṅjhá—middle, an island in the middle of a river, the trunk of a tree, a bed, a feast given in the middle of (now before) a marriage.

kíl—a nail, peg, bolt, the core of a boil, a pimple, a gold pin worn in the nose, the axle of a potter's wheel.

múl—root, cause, foundation, origin, principal or stock, the original text.

ikká—single, a single-horse, gig, a pony vehicle, a wrist ornament, a champion who serves alone without being attached to any corps, one in a playing card.

ras—for a doctor is an oxide, for a grocer it is quick-silver, for a fruit vendor it is juice, for a poet it is sentiment, and so on.

2. ii. Emphasis.

2. ii(a). Shifts on emphasis.

A change in customs or environments, as we have seen, is in

fact a change in emphasis. A word, originally, denotes some prominent element of an object. In course of time it comes to denote the whole object containing several elements. At various periods of its semantic development emphasis shifts from one element to another.

Skt. **brata**, pledge, now denotes, 'fast', as in all religious ceremonies, before taking a pledge, a person was required to keep fast. The emphasis from the pledge shifted to the fast which was just a secondary element. **bhaṇḍárá**, originally a storehouse for utensils (Skt. **bhāṇḍāgāra**), came to mean simply 'a storehouse'. **áná**, originally a coin equal to 1/16 of a rupee, also denotes 1/16 of a share, the idea of its being 1/16 receiving more emphasis than that of its being a coin. Skt. **droṇam**, was a wooden cup. But later the emphasis shifted from wood to the cup, so that H. **doná**, means "a leaf cup."

Sometimes the emphasis on one element may be so strong that the other elements are forgotten.

More examples—

H. **gújar**, a milkman (from **gurjara** tribe).

kathá (orig. a saying), story, a story of a religious character.

saṁskár (orig. refinement), consecration, a sacred rite, impression on the memory.

saṁskaraṇ, purification, edition which may or may not be revised and purified.

bálí, spike of corn, ear-ring.

sayáná, wise, a physician.

In this way meanings are transferred or restricted. See the section on "Restrictions" in the next chapter for more examples.

Sometimes the shift of emphasis leads to an increase in the range of applicability of a word, and meanings are generalized.

sikorá (metathesis of **kasorá**) was originally a bronze utensil. It now denotes 'a pot'.

vyutpanna (lit. one well-versed in the etymology of words or the origin of things), expert.

cimpaṭ, 'open on four sides', 'loose', 'spoilt', and it may be used for animate as well as inanimate objects.

kuṁḍí, girl, but it can now be applied even to an old female servant. Compare English 'boy'.

kumhár (lit. one who makes pitchers), makes various kinds of earthen pots.

top'kháná stores not only cannons but the whole artillery and the emphasis is laid neither on **top** nor on **kháná** when it is used to mean the artillery itself, including soldiers and their equipment.

For more examples see the section on "Generalization."

Shift in emphasis from one part of a word's signification to another very often affects its function in the sentence.

yahán=háń, here, as in **un'ke yahán** and **un'ke háń** but **yahán bāīṭho** is not equal to **háń bāīṭho.**

The meaning of Skt. **apar,** other, more, different, is retained in the adjectival and adverbial uses of H. **aur,** but it has changed in the conjunction.

likhá (lit. written), luck (a noun).

Skt. **prárabdha** (adj.), begun, > H. **prárabdha** (noun), luck; or **shreṣṭha** (adj.), best, > **seṭh** (n.), big man.

Also vide the chapter on Sematology of Grammar.

Clauses, like words, include a large number of ideas any of which may receive the emphasis.

(1) **jab súrya nikal'tá hāī to prakásh hotá hāī.**

(2) **jab súrya nikal'tá hāī to bhí ghāṭiyoń meń andhakár rah'tá hāī.**

In (1), **jab** means 'when and because', and in (2) it means 'when and although'.

The following sentences mean differently according to the shift of emphasis on one or the other idea.

(1) vah **ghar se kháná khá áyá**—he, and perhaps no one else, has taken his food.

(2) **vah** ghar **se kháná khá áyá**—he has taken his food from his house and from nowhere else.

(3) **vah ghar se** kháná **khá áyá**—he has taken food, nothing else, from his house.

(4) **vah ghar se kháná** khá áyá—he has of course taken his food.

2. ii(b). Change of semantic value due to emotional causes.

In addition to their intellectual content words suggest certain

emotions. Sometimes the emphasis on the emotional element of a word becomes so great that the intellectual content is lost sight of. This may degrade certain words and elevate some others.

Examples—

mahárâj, an emperor, is used as a flattering epithet for cooks and water-carriers.

sídhá, straight, is employed to denote a stupid person.

satyánásh or **sattánásh,** destruction of excellence, means simply 'depravation'.

shrímán or **shríyut,** glorious, means only 'Mr', or 'Sir'.

mandir, house, is elevated and denotes 'a temple'.

kalash, a pot, means a sacrificial pitcher, or pinnacle.

Emotional emphasis is responsible for weak significance which results from this tendency to vivacity and exaggeration. Words like **atyant,** limitless, **ghor,** terrific, **adbhut,** strange, wonderful, now mean simply 'much or very'.

2. iii. Association.

2. iii(a). Association a factor of semantic restrictions.

The connection in which a word occurs is of great importance. By means of such connections the different possibilities of the apprehension of a word are minimised. Every word is restricted according to the associations it forms with other words or contexts. It makes a clear difference whether I hear the word **caddar** in a draper's shop or at an iron-merchant's. The meaning of **ghoṛá** is determined by varying circumstances. It is 'horse' in the stable, 'trigger' at the musketry, 'peg' in a wall, 'the knight' at chess.

dáńv means 'a throw' in dicing, 'a stake' in gambling, 'a trick' in wrestling, 'an opportunity' in life, 'ambuscade' in hunting, and so on.

cál means 'gait' in walking, 'movement' in chess or strategy, 'custom' in society, etc.

When a word is spoken, its meaning is understood by individuals according to the association prevailing in their minds at the time.

When we hear or read a sentence, the words it contains usually explain each other. If one of their number is not very familiar to

us, we naturally seek to interpret it by the context. The idea which we thus obtain by guess-work may chance to be wrong, but it is generally rectified by the fact that the same word will reappear later in other sentences, explained by other words. In this way the meaning of every word becomes fixed in one's mind. It may chance to be right or wrong. Generally it is modified. The more frequently a word is used in different contexts, the more likely it is to be modified in meaning. Restriction of meaning is due to this kind of contextual association.

Examples—

dáná, a grain, in **málá ká ek ek dáná**—a bead.

paṅth, way, in **nának paṅth, dádú paṅth, sikh paṅth**, —a sect.

báṅh, arm, in **koṭ kí báṅh**—sleeve, **merá mitra merí báṅh**—a defender or a supporter.

púrá, full, in **púre nām**, exact, **púrá kám**, complete.

ghar, house in **rám ká ghar**, home in **hamárá ghar paṅjáb meṅ hāi**, socket in **ālnak ká ghar**, den in **bheṛiye ká ghar** and so on.

Thus context is a very potent factor in the semantic change of words. Every word has originally a wide significance, a hint, which is narrowed down by the context in which it occurs.

The sense of one word spreads to others placed in relation to it. In **pitá jí ko mil áúṅ, pitá jí** means 'my father', **mālúme us'ko bájú se pak'ṛá, bájú** here means 'his arm'. It is in this manner that **mandir** has come to mean a god's house or temple, **assemb'lí**, the Legislative assembly and so on.

Words may express the whole context which is understood by association.

háṅ, nahíṅ to, ṭhík, acchá, etc. are such words.

Sometimes when a word changes in meaning it induces change in a number of associated words, either by encroaching upon their territory or by leaving certain meanings uncovered.

raj (originally 'pollen') means menses. With this change in the meaning of **raj, rajodarshan, rajovatí, rajasvalá**, etc. have all changed their signification.

Compare also the associations of **bhút** (orig. past) in, **bhútbhágá, bhút'bádhá, bhútonmád, bhútiná**, where it denotes 'spirit', 'evil spirit'.

Skt. **jyeṣṭha**, eldest, > H. **jeṭh**, the husband's elder brother, **jeṭhání**, the wife of the husband's elder brother, **jeṭhmṭ**, a son of the husband's elder brother.

Skt. **jalpa**, to talk, > H. **jap**, prayers, **jap'ná**, to repeat prayers, **jap'jí**, the prayer book of the Sikhs, **japí**, a devotee.

When bonds of the semantic family become relaxed or broken, there is nothing to prevent the meaning from wandering. Compare the meanings of **cmkí**, formed from **cmk**, a square, a place, a police post. etc. It came to mean a seat, even a round seat. Consequently we have the words **cmkí-pah'rá**, guard, **cmkídár**, a watchman, etc.

The meanings of **dáav**, **jál**, **báh** above may be considered.

Also see the chapter on 'Polysemy', where it has been shown how a word accumulates various meanings when once it is allowed to denote a by-meaning.

A word becomes relatively more restricted as its associations increase. The word **hindustání**, an Indian, is more specialized in meaning than **puruṣ** or **manuṣya**, man. **hindú** is similarly more restricted than **hindustání**, and **mátáprasád** more restricted than **hindú** and again **mátáprasád sharmá** is more specialized than **mátáprasád**, and **mátáprasád sharmá kán'purí** more specialized than **mátáprasád sharmá**.

2. iii(b). Generalization by Association.

A word usually denotes one prominent feature, as from √ **pat** is formed **patra**, a leaf, as it falls. But other associated features come to be expressed by the same word **patra**, letter, **patra** paper, **patra** also means a newspaper.

syáhí meant "blackness". But it is now used for ink of any colour.

Several words are extended in meaning by association.

More examples—

nágar, belonging to a city, clever

gaṅvár, belonging to a village, fool

jaṅg'lí, of the forest, wild, uncultured

bútá, gram, gram-plant, plant. etc.

ágbat, commission, < Skt. **ágbhyatva**, riches.

2. iii(c). Transference.

There are certain words which by association of ideas acquire a degraded sense.

jaṅgal (a jungle), latrine.

dev'dási (a temple servant), a dancing girl devoted to prostitution in a temple.

bhadroṅ (blessing), clean-shaven for mourning.

ráy sáhab (a title), a wicked person.

The degeneration of the meaning of a noun may be partly due to frequent association with disparaging ad ectives.

cál, bad custom, (orig. way).

chak'ná, to drink (wine) and to be intoxicated.

bú, bad smell, (lit. smell).

pálisi, crooked policy. Compare the amelioration in **kulaj,** born of a *good* family.

Adjectives are affected in their turn by being regularly coupled with certain nouns, as—

cálák (expert), cunning **magna** (sunk), happy.

For more examples see the sections on " Pejoration and Amelioration ".

Even words which have opposite meanings may affect each other by association. Compare **adhar,** lower lip, **sadhar,** upper lip; **samás,** compound, **vyás,** split. When one changes in meaning, the other does so as a matter of fact.

Every form of transference of meaning is, in fact, a case of association, which may connect two meanings of a word by analogy by contrast, or by connection of time and place or by the relationship of part and whole, cause and effect, and so on. Here one associated idea is considered in another.

For details and examples see the section on " Transference " in the next chapter.

Sometimes words get meanings by mere accidental association.

cini (sugar) was not manufactured in China, but it was probably brought into India first by the Chinese. **muraṅg'zebi** ulcer has nothing to do with Aurangzeb. It first appeared in his army in the Deccan. **rajái,** has been connected in Hobson-Jobson with some Raza Khan. H. **cándi,** silver, is associated with Skt. **candriká,** moonlight. **dvandva,** quarrel, is connected with **dvi,** two,

although it is not essential that when two persons meet there must be a quarrel. **mắṅchí**, curd preparation is so called because, perhaps, it is found sticking to the moustache, **mắṅch**.

2. iv. Analogy.

2. iv(a). Images of objects in words and meanings.

Analogy, in a way, is an accident of association. Semantic analogy is based on imagery. Images are very frequent helps in the formation of words and their meanings. The same word may come to denote other objects, similar in form or colour. In the Vedas **parvata, adri**, etc., words for mountains, are sometimes used for clouds.

In Hindi the number of such words is quite large.

Examples—

chachhúndar, mole, a firework, **skandha**, shoulder, canto, branch, leader, etc., **súraj'mukhí**, a flower, a cracker, a fan, **sarpiṇí**, snake, a creeper, **shab'nam**, dew, a cloth, **mor'ní**, pea-hen, an ornament, **vaṅsh**, a bamboo, backbone, arm-bone, **dắṅv'ní**, lightning, a head ornament, **til**, sesamum seed, mole.

Words may come to represent things similar in any respect.

ambar, etymologically means a "cloud", connected with **ambu**, water, transferred to 'sky'. The sky was imagined to be a covering, and the image was extended to the 'cloth'.

darshan (sight) means 'insight' in philosophy. Not for nothing does 'I see' mean 'I understand'. Sight, among the senses, easily predominates as a synonym for comprehension. 'Seeing is believing'.

cúr honá, to be broken, to be absorbed.

úṅchá vicár, high thought, is an image from **úṅchá pahár**, high mountain.

gah'rá soc, deep thinking, is similar to **gah'rá páni**, deep water, so far as its imagination goes.

2. iv(b). Transference of meanings.

Men in old times carefully studied the nature of birds and animals and compared their own feelings to them.

V

Terms like **suar, kauvá** and **gad'há**, as applied to men mean 'naughty', 'obstinate', 'stupid', etc.

Thus by analogy nouns came to be used as adjectives.

Analogical names of flowers, mountains and animals are interesting.

súraj'mukhí, the sun-flower
kukkuṭ-shikhá, a flower
anánás, (Arabic ain-i-nas) the eye of man, pineapple
kal'gá, crest, a flower
gokh'rú (gokṣura), a flower
kálátop, black hat, a mountain near Dalhousie.

More examples of plants—

rudrákṣa, músákání, haás'padí, háthájoṛí, hastidantak, etc.

Persons are sometimes nicknamed after animals.

vah sher hai, he is a lion
totárám (parrot)
kuttá (dog), a slave
billá (lit. a cat)
sánḍ (a stallion), a loose youngman.

Things are often named from animals.

ghoṛí (mare), a wooden frame
kuttá (a dog), an obstacle
gilah'rá (squirrel) a striped cloth
toṭá (parrot), trigger of a gun
kukkaṭí (a hen), red cotton
bhamárá, a puppet, a peg in a craddle

mor'paṅkhí, (peahen-feathered), a certain state pleasure boat.

Objects may be named after other similar objects.

buṛhiyá ká kátá, a fine sweetmeat
krmi jaṅghá, black aloe
kapaṛ-koṭ, a tent (not a fort)
ḍaṅk (a sting), nib
jhálar (a border), a sweetmeat
campá-kalí (bud of champa flower), an ornament
sher paṅjá (lion's paw), an armour
paṅkhá (Skt. **pakṣa**, wing), a fan.

2. iv(c). Abstraction & Concretion.

Semantic analogy may sometimes take us farther away from the original meaning of words. The abstraction of the meaning of the following concrete terms may be noted—

Skt. **táḍyati**, strikes, > H. **táṛ'ná**, to reprove.

av'lamban (originally, hanging), dependence, support.

magna (originally, sunk), happy.

saṛ'ná (to burn, stink), to be in narrow conditions.
súl (thorn, spear, arrow), pain.

Note the similarity in the concrete and the abstract objects or actions. The following abstract terms have similarly been concreted—

grám'tá (rustic state), village community.
sahây'tá (help), a number of companions.
jan'tá (birth, manhood), public.
mastí (intoxication), juice of trees.

2. iv(d). Generalization.

Analogy is a great factor in the generalization of meaning. Compare—

ghaṛe kí gar'dan, neck of a pitcher.
botal ká galá, throat of a bottle.
nadí kí shákhá, branch of a river.
pahár kí coṭí, top of a mountain.
kathámukh, introductory part of a story.
kursí kí piṭh, back of a chair.

2. iv(e). Partial Resemblance.

At times analogy is false and the word compared has been either misunderstood or misapplied. Note that **nîl'gây** is not a cow but an antelope and that **son'makkhí** is not a fly but a mineral. Also compare—

kapaṛ-kot (lit. a fort of cloth), a tent.
kukkur'muttá (lit. dog's urine), mushroom.
kan'kaua (lit. crow with ears), a paper kite.
afím (ahiphena, serpant's foam), opium.

In such cases the analogy in appearance, function or relation is assumed. This phenomenon may be compared with the following.

2. iv(f). Popular Etymology.

ahiphena above is, possibly, a Sanskritised form of 'opium'. Folk

etymology, whereby a foreign word or an obsolete or quite new (even native) term or unfamiliar sound or meaning is replaced by one familiar or by a compound of a similar sound and with a signification which is generally intelligible, is also due to analogy.

In H. **vacchanág** (Skt. **vatsanábha**), note the substitution of **nág** (cobra) for **nábha**, as it is a poison. Skt. **támrakúṭ** denotes 'tobacco', which has the same appearance as 'pounded copper'.

H. **muńshípál** explains a municipal(ity), which does keep a number of munshis. **háthícok** (lit. eye of an elephant), artichoke, H. **mur'dá sańkh** (lit. dead conchshell), for Per. **murdár sańg**, dross of lead, and H. **bhasmá** (lit ashes), for Per. **vasmah**, hair-dye, show common people's attempt to change words on the basis of analogy.

2. iv(g). Metaphor is simply analogy.

Metaphors, it may be noted in conclusion, are simply examples of the power of analogy in meaning. Our knowledge grows by comparing the unknown with the known. Our expression becomes clear by explaining the unfamiliar through the familiar. In all languages, even the most uncultivated, the metaphorical or figurative use of words is one of the most natural efforts towards expression. Unlike the preceding causes, which work slowly and imperceptibly, metaphor changes the meaning of words and creates new expressions on the spur of the moment. As such, metaphors may be considered as the chief cause of semantic change.

Compare—

jívan kí lahar, current of life	**caraṇ-kamal**, lotus-feet
jag náṭak, drama of the world	**bhav-ságar**, ocean-world
asilatá, creeper-sword	**sháńti-sudhá**, nectar-peace
karí dhúp, hard sun	**míṭhí churí**, sweet knife
garam bájár, hot market	**karuve vacan**, bitter words
mám'le kí tah, bottom of affair	**man meń gáṅṭh**, knot in heart.

2. v. Circumlocution.

Language, we have noted, has been struggling hard to express

ideas distinctly. But a cultured man must escape the common-place. He cannot always be direct. He may use good words to express something indecent, inauspicious, bitter or unmentionable, or he may employ bad words for good things. Thus euphemism and cacophemism become powerful forces in changing the meanings of words.

Psychologically, circumlocution is due to nervousness or lack of moral courage.

In Greek "Euphemizein" is to use words of good omen. H. W. and F. G. Fowler define it as "substitution of mild or vague expression for harsh or blunt one." Prof. Weekley in "The Romance of Words" speaks of euphemism as "that form of speech which avoids calling things by their names."

2. v(a). Euphemism, a question of decency.

Inauspicous and indecent words are avoided to diminish, to tone down, a painful evocation, or to soften tragic news.

shauc (lit. cleanliness), latrines.
svargavás (lit. residence in heavens), death.
gaṅgálábh (lit. reception in the Ganges), death.
súr'dás (the name of the famous blind poet), blind.
sah'vás (lit. living together), sexual copulation.
sídhá sádá (lit. straight and simple), foolish.

Opposite words are employed to express any bitter ideas, a in **dukán baṛháná, cúṛí baṛháná, díyá baṛháná, seńdúr baṛháná,** etc. the use of **baṛháná,** to increase, for closing, breaking, extinguishing, wiping out, etc.

2. v(b). Personal causes.

Humility on the part of the speaker results in euphemism.

jal'pán (lit. drinking of water), refreshment
dás (lit. slave), I
pán'pattá (a betel leaf), a present
dál'roṭí (lintels and bread), living
prárthaná (begging), saying
házir homá (to be present), to come.

Courtesy towards respectable persons demands euphemistic

language. The following are terms of this nature—

áp'kí sevá meń (in service), to you
darshan díjiye (give sight), come, sit
shrímán (glorious), you
padháriye (cf. Skt. **pradhá-raṇa,** keeping) go, sit
tash'ríf le jáiye (lit. take away your noble self), go
far'máiye (command), say.

2. v(c). Social and Moral Euphemism.

Euphemistic expressions may be used for unmentionable parts of the body, things or acts. Words connected with excretory functions and those that deal with reproduction are also included herein. Examples—

indriya, dańḍ, lolo for penis
mahámáńs for cow's flesh
laghushańká for urinating
másik dhaṛma for menses
yoni for the female organ
mahákańd for garlic
chátí, áńcal, for female breasts
páńv bhári, kacce din, god bharí honá, to be pregnant.

Society also places tabus on certain expressions of this type.

Also note that Indian ladies usually do not mention the names of their husbands, who may be called—

munní ke káká, the uncle of the baby,
lallú ke lallá, the father of Lallu,
sítá ke bhayyá, the brother of Sita, or
ve, áp, he.

A lady once travelled to a place where her husband was appointed as police officer. She had not been to that place before and the husband could neither get leave to fetch her from her home nor come to the railway station to receive her. Now the difficulty arose as to how she would find his house. She asked a number of persons about the 'officer', about **'bábújí,'** about the man with moustache and dark face, about the Panditji from village Manauri, and so on. When all efforts failed and she was obliged to mention his name, she said, "It is the name of a city in Bihar". After all, she was directed to Gaya Prasad's house.

Husbands, too, abstain from mentioning the names of their wives, though less commonly. Even words for 'husband' and 'wife' are used euphemistically.

Compare—

merá ád'mí, my man, **merá ghar válá**, my housemaster, **málik**, master, for the husband; and **sah'dharmacáriṇí**, co-duty-doer, **ardhánginí**, the (better) half, **grhiṇí**, housemistress, **shrímatí**, the noble lady, etc. for the wife.

2. v(d). Religious euphemism.

Examples of religious euphemism are—

nāivedya lagáná (to set up a dedication), to give offerings to a deity.

bhog lagáná (to set up an eatable), to give offerings to an idol.

práṇ-pratiṣṭhá (infusing of life), consecration of an idol.

ác'man (sipping), sipping of water and rinsing the mouth before a ceremony.

pradakṣiṇá kar'ná (to go to the right), a reverential salutation by going round.

carṇámrta (nectar of the feet), sacred water.

The names of gods and goddesses are unmentionable. Compare the fact that Shankara, Shiva, Mahesha, Nílakaṇṭha, Mahádeva, etc. are all titles. Durgá, Shakti, Caṇḍiká, Bhag'watí, Káliká, are epithets. **saṅkaṭ-mocan** is used for Hanuman, **vighnaharaṇ** for Ganesha which itself is a tittle.

2. v(e). National euphemism.

The names of a dangerous or malignant being is avoided and often replaced by some epithet of a harmless or even complimentary character.

baṛ'ká (big), for a wolf
kíṛá (an insect), a snake
deví (goddess), cholera
ágá (master), a sikh *bania*.
bhálú (the good one, cf. **accha bhalá**), a bear
mátá (mother), smallpox

In order not to materialize one's enemy, one does not mention his name. We say **ve, dús're log** or **us pár ke log** for enemies.

'Going to Pakistan' has come to mean 'going to latrines'.

We may also include here unmentionable names of cities, towns, animals, etc., e.g. **jammú** is called **baṛá shahar,** big city, **bandar,** monkey, is called Hanuman.

There are such places and animals in each locality and it is a matter of more or less local superstition.

2. v(f). Ironical Euphemism.

Irony is also a form of euphemism, as—

maṅgalámukhí, a prostitute **mahátmá,** crooked

haz'rat, rascal, wicked **bholá, sídhá,** a fool

bhale mánas (noble man) may be used to mean 'wicked'.

Flattery, which is only a courteous form of irony, is another cause of euphemistic use of terms, as **bhaktají** for a potter, **khalífá** for a barber, **jamádár** and **lál'begí** for a sweeper, etc.

2. v(g). Euphemistic euphemism.

Sometimes a learned or scientific term is used as euphemism and this becomes popular.

Examples—

harijan (man of God) for untouchables, **veshyá** (orig. fashionable) for a prostitute, **shauc** (cleanliness) for the call of nature, **kám** (desire) for sexual lust, etc.

In course of time some euphemisms become so stilted and affected that their former equivalents are reinstated. "Familiarity breeds contempt" and the forgotten words may be less familiar and less ugly.

That is why the words for 'death', 'prostitute', 'wine', copulation' and 'call of nature' are all numerous as well as varied, each being the result of a desire to hide the developed nakedness of its previous equivalent.

Compare—

mrtyu (death), **svargavás** (abode in the Heavens), **kailásh'vás** (abode in the Kailasa), **dehánt** (end of the body), **sharír'tyág** (giving up of the body), **práṇ'tyág** (giving up of the soul), etc. for 'death',

raṇḍí (woman), **veshyá** (the fashionable), **gaṇiká** (one with a group of men), **váráṅg'ná, vár'nárí** (a woman of the multitude), **nagar nárí** (a woman of the city), etc. for a 'harlot',

váruṇí (of god Varuna), **surá** (of the gods), **madirá, madya** (pleasant, gladdening), **mádhurí** (sweetness), **sharáb** (beverage, cf. **sharbat**), **kaṛ'vápáni** (bitter water) for 'wine'.

cod'ná (goading), **maithun** (pairing), **sambhog, bhog** (enjoyment), **sah'vás** (living together), **grámya dharma** (rustic duty), for 'copulation'.

ṭaṭṭi (shelter), **shauc** (cleanliness), **jaṅgal** (forest), **báhir** (outside), for 'answering the call of nature'.

Euphemism illustrates the humour of the people—

caraṇ'dási is a shoe, and **rám'raṅgí** is wine.

2. v(h). Cacophemism.

Cacophemism, or calling good things bad, is an effort to avert the envy of gods, or otherwise to discredit them. Children are given such names, sometimes.

pavárú, thrown away	**putárú,** ruined
kúṛámal, godaṛ'mal, etc., rubbish	**kallú, kálá,** black
ghináú, hateful	**maṅgú,** beggar.

páni (water) is used for 'ghee' at auspicious occasions.

Cacophemism is sometimes due to personal or secterian hatred or prejudice. Opposite parties are given bad names.

Examples—

nástik (non-believer) a sinner. **pákhaṇḍí,** (a heretic), opposite.

káfir (ungrateful, unbeliever), a non-Muslim.

kaṭahulá, (castrated), a Muslim.

mleccha (barbarian), a foreigner.

gorí cam'ṛí (white skin), a European.

Terms of abuse may be employed as terms of endearment and inverted expression of love, as **ullú, billú, bhullar,** etc.

The main cause of circumlocution of the above types may be found in the mysterious power attached to speech : The word is god and the name evokes the thing.

2. v(*i*). General Periphrasis.

Besides Euphemism and Cacophemism, we find in our daily talk a large number of expressions which are not direct, curt and straightforward. In very lowly or friendly circles, or in addressing children, one may try to avoid technical or literary words by employing descriptive terms that are definitely indirect and round-about.

Examples—

ṭopī vālā, man with cap, may refer to the teacher.
vah kaṭorā sā, that thing like a cup, may mean 'a piss-pot'.
lamb'karṇa, one with long ears, donkey.
lālāsrav, one issuing saliva, a spider.
miyāṅ miṭṭhū, the sweet pet, a parrot.
mrg'rāj, the king of animals, lion.
masidhānī, ink-pot, for **davāt.**

Periphrasis is an important cause of the restriction of meaning. Some persons are in the habit of employing circumlocution and thus giving their expressions meanings which they do not otherwise signify. These expressions are sometimes employed to hide the truth or the fact or the things.

This kind of periphrasis is effected in several ways—

(1) By using an extremely vague phrase, such as **vah calā gayā** (he is gone), for 'he is dead', **le gayā** (has taken away), for 'has stolen', **muṅh moṛ'nā** (to turn the face), for 'to retreat', **aise hī** (just like that); for some private business, etc.

(2) By mentioning a significantly concomitant circumstance as in **uṭh gayā** (has lifted himself away), died, **guṛiyoṅ kā khel** (doll's play), an ordinary matter, **peṭ pūjā kar'nā** (to worship the tummy), to eat, **battīsī dikhānā** (to show the thirty two teeth), to smile, etc.

(3) By using enigmatical or elusive language, especially by the use of the passive, as in **dekhā jāy'gā** (it will be seen) for 'I shall, perhaps, see to it'. **par'mātmā jāne** (God knows), for 'I do not know', **huā hogā** (might have happened) for 'I do not agree', and so on.

(4) By employing another language, foreign, provincial or even dialectical.

(5) By understatement and the negative statement as **vah kuch pīlā paṛ gayā hai** (he is turned somewhat pale), for 'he is ill',

vah jis'kí ek ṭáṅg kuch choṭí hai (he who has one leg short), for 'he who is lame', **makán accha to nahín hai** (the house is not quite good) for 'the house is bad' and so on.

(6) By abbreviation, as **ṭi bí** for tuberculosis, **bí en ár** for Bengal Nagpur Railway, **shrí** for **shríyut**, Mr., **paṇ.** for Pandit, etc.

The number of abbreviated expressions is not much in Hindi. Otherwise, too, we see that a Hindi speaker is generally plainspoken, and that advanced literary language is more periphrastic than the rustic and colloquial.

Professor Carnoy gives another reason for periphrasis, namely, the desire to adapt oneself to the general sentiment suitable to the time, place and other circumstance.

The names of animals, in relation to gods, are different and quite restricted and allusive in meaning. Donkey is **shíṭ'lá-váhan**, carriage of Shitala Devi; rat is **gaṇesh kí savárí**, carriage of Ganesha, and owl is **lakṣmíváhan**, carriage of the goddess of wealth.

It may be noted that in religious ceremonies, several ordinary things are designated by special names. The use of particular words to create particular Rasas, by musicians, poets and orators, is a well-known instance of such circumlocution.

2. vi. Laxity.

2. vi(a). Misapprehension and misapplication.

We constantly use words with a very dim appreciation, indeed, of their full and exact significance. We select that part of the meaning only which for some reason or other has made an impression upon our minds, and very often this part of the meaning is merely subsidiary and accidental to the proper signification of words. But we are too lazy to realize their proper signification, and so pass words on to others as mere shadow and fragment of their former selves. We guess a meaning: It is easier than to find it out in a dictionary. Men, says Locke, having been accustomed from their cradle to learn words which are easily got and retained, before they know or frame the complete ideas which they express, usually continue to do so all their lives. "Men take the words they find in use amongst their

neighbours, and that they may not seem ignorant of what they stand for, use them confidently without much troubling their heads about a certain fixed meaning."

A certain human frailty attaches to the process of semantic change.

Realization of meaning is largely an incident of experience. A meaning grows and changes with the growing and changing experience of an individual. The uncertainty and unstability of experienced conditions results in the uncertainty and unstability of meaning. But experience comes in due course of time, or it may not come at all. It is usually indirect. Before knowing things fully people learn their names and, therefore, there is vagueness in their use : The original meaning is either widened or narrowed. The fate of foreign words in our language is the evident result of this laxity on our parts. When a word is borrowed from another language, it may come to diverge widely in meaning from its earlier sense. It may be restricted, extended or degraded in signification.

Examples—

Specialization of **gir'dávar** (orig. a touring person), a village official, **khas** (orig. straw), a scented grass, **murgá** (a bird), a cock, **hal'vá** (orig. a sweetmeat), sweet pudding.

Generalization of **bahí** (orig. a revealed book), an account book, **bahár** (spring), pleasure, season, **zar** (gold), wealth.

Transference in **ním** (half), light, **nihál** (plant), happy, **savárí** (act of riding), rider, carriage, **daftar** (file of papers), office, **tah'síl** (receipt), a part of a district, etc.

In a way every new word is foreign, and the meaning attached to it by the listener depends on his mental attitude. Change of meaning is mainly due to vague apprehension of meaning—misunderstanding of the word and the object.

The mental condition of the speaker also largely determines meaning change; and, often, we are led by the sentiment of person using a particular word to convey a particular sense. Ignorance, dire need, and misapprehension result in laxity in the employment of words. Compare the use of **cor** in **tam'cor,** cock, <Skt. **támracúda, kánjí,** in **kánjí hms,** kine house, and **ballam** in **ballam'ţer,** volunteer. Laxity is another incident of folk-etymology.

Contamination and malapropism are also due to our mental confusion, or inattentiveness.

2. vi(b). Imitation.

Sometimes the change is due to the authority of the older people. Words like dresses have fashions and the younger generations learn them by imitation. Fashion has the attraction of novelty, the fear of appearing less wise and less alert than the neighbours. Imitation is a condition of laxity. A child hears a stupid fellow as an 'ass'. In such cases the primary meaning is, from the very outset, dispensed with as an aid to right comprehension. The child, not knowing fully the distinction between the usual and the occasional, will, thus, be inclined to adopt the occasional meaning. The departure of the occasional meaning from the usual meaning is a starting point for the change of signification. As soon as these departures repeat themselves with a certain regularity, what was individual and momentary becomes gradually generic and usual.

The phenomenon explained above occurs almost daily in our lives and it is too universal to need any examples from Hindi.

2. vi(c). Ellipsis and meaning change.

The tendency towards economy of expression, towards greater ease, is another result of laxity, easygoingness or inertia, and this, again, is a powerful agent of semantic transformation. In every situation, in every profession, there is a certain idea so present in the memory that it seems unnecessary to express it in speech. It is natural to suppress what is self-evident.

Specialization is often simply the result of an ellipsis.

purí = **jagannáth purí**	**samvat** = **vikramí samvat**
patra = **samácár patra**	**sammelan** = **hindí sáhitya sammelan**
samáj = **árya samáj, brahmo samáj**	**sabhá** = **nág'rí pracáriṇí sabhá**
kápí = copy-book	
mandir = **dev mandir**	**cakkí** = **pan-cakkí**
mel = mail-train	**rel** = railway train.

We all have a stock of abbreviated expressions intelligible to our intimate friends. Some day they may become general.

Sometimes generalization results from the omission of some adjunct.

gaveṣ'ṇá (search after a cow) now means research.

Skt. **ghoṭaka** (a poor horse) = H. **ghoṛá,** a horse.

Ellipsis results in deterioration of some words and elevation of certain others.

cál (movement) also means a bad move, trick.

muhúrta (time) means auspicious time.

kulín means belonging to a good family.

nazar in **nazar lag gaí,** evil eye.

By omitting a noun, the qualifier may take its place as a substantive. Thus abstract ideas are made concrete.

Skt. **karkara** (hard) = H. **kák'ṛá** which means stiff leather.

kaṛhí (lit. boiled) means boiled rice.

achút, an untouchable, low-born person.

baṛe, elderly, elderly people.

The omission of the noun is one of the chief means by which names of places or persons become names of things.

Compare—

káshmírá, Kashmir cloth **bíd'rí,** Bidar 'smith-work'

baṅg'lá, Bangla type of house **paṅjábí,** Punjabi type of shirt

hálan, Holland cloth **már'kín,** American cloth

báy'káṭ, the system started by Captain Boycott; etc., etc.,

The principle of economy of expression has also caused the abridgment of forms and terminations. Instead of so many affixes and terminations, we now use a special number of free forms. **se,** for example, may mean 'from', 'by', 'than', 'with', etc. in **ghar se dúr, rám se píṭá gayá, sab se acchá, láṭhí se píṭo.** This law of specialization, as Breal calls it, has greatly simplified our language.

Ellipsis also results in compounds which denote a particular meaning different from uncompounded forms.

ṭhag'múrí, an intoxicant **gomukhí,** a bag for heads

brahmadoṣ, murder of a Brahman. Also see p. 85-86.

Ellipsis in sentences (which are grammatically correct inspite of it) may lead to different signification.

Compare—

(1) **málá ne us'ko mantrí banáyá,** I made him secretary. and **málá ne us'ko banáyá,** I befooled him.

(2) In **yah kám pah'le kar'ná cáhiye, pah'le** means first; but in **yah káru áne se pah'le kar'ná cáhiye, pah'le**=before.

(3) **maīńne use sunáíń,** I gave him a frank talk.

(4) **tumheń kyá paṛí hāī,** what object have you ?

Also see the chapters on "Idiom and Usage" and "Sematology of Grammar".

3. LOGICAL CONDITIONS.

3. Logical Conditions.

Semantic change is mostly psychological. Linguisticians of the highest rank have expressed similar opinions. Thus, Paul says that all linguistic development is fundamentally psychological and subconscious. But when he comes to details, even Paul distinguishes between the logical, psychological and grammatical aspects of a sentence. For the sake of specification, we require a category which may represent the *in erential* processes at the back of semantic change. For instance, when a particular meaning is generalized or a general meaning particularized, the phenomenon involves an inferential process, however subconscious it may be. Again, as we have noted in the chapter on Synonymy, a differentiation of meaning has generally a *raison d'etre* reference, e.g. before the 19th century "Philosophy" signified Physics as well, but it was found that 'Philosophy' was inadequate for the denotation of physical phenomena and 'Physics' was introduced. At one time the first term in the following sets was general, but later distinctive terms were evolved.

sammán, honour, and **pratiṣṭhá,** prestige.

vyápár, trade, and **vyav'sáy,** commerce.

kathá, a religious story, **kahání,** a story, **galpa,** a fiction story.

desh, country, **pradesh,** place, **práńt,** province.

shikṣá, (OIA—Phonetics) education, **dhvani vijńyán,** Phonetics.

artha shástra, Economics **arthavicár,** Semantics

bháṣá shástra, Grammar **bháṣá vijńyán,** Linguistics.

This is called logical differentiation.

But a psychologist would say, of course, we can talk about the logical aspects of statements and so also of words and semantic changes, but the idea of these being logical occurs when we begin

to think about these changes after they have actually come into being. We can then say that they involve inference and are, therefore, of logical category. But can we talk of logical *conditions* of those changes? Even inference, it should be remembered, is a psychological process. We can call it logical only when the conclusion of the result of the process of inference can be claimed to be validly drawn. Thus the logical category is super-imposed upon the original psychological processes or conditions.

We leave this controversy to a general linguistician. But it must be admitted that psychology plays a much greater part in semantic change than logic. Yet logic does enter in the main process. For example, when a cook, if a Brahman, is called a **paṇḍit,** because he is a Brahman, it has to be explained logically, though it has a psychological background, too. We should take all conditions of genus-species interchanges as logico-psychological. Again the phenomenon of misunderstanding is, strictly speaking, logico-psychological. But it is predominantly logical, for, as distinguished from mere perception, all misunderstanding or understanding of meaning is, fundamentally, a *conclusion*, and all conclusion is inferential, being based on a middle term.

Differentiation, as a logic, works consciously in the interest of clear thinking, and it is an important cause of restriction of one or generalization of the other of the two synonyms. The rise of the word **skúl** has restricted the meaning of **páṭh'shálá** to a Sanskrit or a primitive type of school or a girls' institution.

Compare—

kumár (prince) and **kuńvárá,** Punj. **kvárá,** a bachelor.
báṛ (a fence) and **báṛí,** a garden.
samudra (a sea) and **ságar,** an ocean.
mel (meeting) and **melá,** a fair, etc.

Then, we find logical processes in arranging words of a speech. The logic of every language fixes the order of words in a sentence. Any departure from that logical order changes the meaning of the sentence and also of the individual words affected.

Compare—

(1) **kyá vah citra banátá hāĩ?** does he draw a picture? and **vah kyá citra banátá hāĩ?** i.e. he does not draw good pictures or what picture does he make.

(2) **bandar ghoṛá láyá,** the monkey brought the horse, and

ghoṛá bandar láyá, the horse brought the monkey.

(3) **kar le,** you are allowed to do it, and **le kar,** having taken, or, here do it.

More of it will be discussed in the chapter on "Sematology of Grammar".

We may also here include the terminology of trades, sciences and arts, which gives consciously new meanings to existing words.

A few examples of effort entering the sphere of semantic change may be taken from Hindi philology to show how ordinary terms may be employed to give special meanings—

agrágam, prothesis
abhyás, reduplication
viyogávasthá, analytic stage
vaktavya, bát, unit of speech
vikrta boli, slang
dhárá, category
sampradáy, tradition
etc., etc.

Every scientist, every artist or artisan, every businessman and in fact, every man does use conscious effort at times to twist the meaning of an existing word in order to express his idea which is new and for which he does not know the exact word.

4. STRUCTURAL OR PHILOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

(i) LINGUISTIC GROWTH.
(ii) PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.
(iii) GRAMMATICAL INCIDENCE.

4. i. Linguistic Growth.

Besides psychological and logical conditions that cause change in meaning, language itself proceeds on certain conditions of its own. A child or a savage with his limited vocabulary cannot limit the use of his words. Sometimes he uses them in a wider and sometimes in a narrower sense than their use demands. A child will include a sofa under the name of a chair, or an umbrella under that of a stick. Such a use is sometimes strengthened and supported by the example of the adults.

We have got quite a good number of nursery words in our language.

Examples—

kákā—uncle, grandfather, father, child, brother.
dádā—grandfather, elder brother, father.
bábā—father, grandfather, child, mendicant.
tát—father, brother, son, dear one.

Neologisms in meaning are invented by writers as well as by individual speakers. Once adopted by general usage, they obtain civil rights. Literary neologism has less chance than popular neologisms, as language is a popular institution, indeed. Universal suffrage has not always existed in politics, it has also existed in the domain of language. The force of usage alone is the rule of language.

Thirdly, like everything else which has life, language is subject to two contrary forces, one originative and the other conservative. The true progress of language consists in gradually yielding to the first, and allowing itself to be held back by the second; or else, if too conservative, language fails to cope with new ideas, new objects and new actions, and if too revolutionary, it loses coherence, confidence and popularity.

We must not forget to mention the desire children and many grown-ups have to play with words, to find amusement in the creation and propogation of new words and in attaching new meanings to old words.

4. ii. Phonological Conditions.

Phonological variations also help variations in meanings. We have noted that, often, when two words are identical in form and thereby produce confusion of meaning, their phonological forms are changed in order to remove ambiguity. Doublets are striking examples of this connection between sound change and meaning change. Reference may also be made to Chap. II, Section 4.

cún; flour, **cúná**, lime, **cúran**, powder, < Skt. **cúrṇa**.
páv, one fourth, and **pánv**, foot, < Skt. **páda**
baṛí big, **barí**, a cake of pulses, < Skt. **vaṭikā**
bach'ṛá, calf, and **bacherá**, colt, < Skt. **vatsatara**
piṅjar, skeleton, and **piṅj'ṛá**, cage, < Skt. **paṅjara**
koṭ, fort, and **koṭhá**, house, < Skt. **koṭṭhakam**
miṭṭhá, sugar, and **miṭṭhí**, kiss, < Skt. **miṣṭa**; etc.

More examples of phonetic-semantic doublets may be of considerable interest here.

kát'ná, to spin, but **káṭ'ná**, to cut.
uj'lá, bright, **ujálá**, light.
kokh, lap, **końch**, corner of scarf.
pallav, leaf, but **pallá**, scarf.
daṇḍ, staff, punishment, but **ḍaṇḍá**, staff.
pakṣa, side, wing, but **paákh**, wing.
jaṭá, matted hair, root, but **jaṛ**, root.
cakra, a wheel, but **cák**, a potter's wheel.

Phonetic change is, thus, favourable to meaning change, since it conceals its former relations with other words which have remained nearer to the initial meaning or have gone off in different directions.

When two words have the same or very similar phonetic form, the meaning of the unfamiliar one is associated to that of the better known.

Examples—

ṭakor'ná, to foment, but **ṭakor**, a tap, associated with **ṭhokar**, a stroke.
katthá, catechu, may be taken as **kathá**, story.
zamáná, a time, may be understood as **jamáná**, 'to set'.
kúcá, a lane, and **kúcá** < Skt. **krmíca**, a bird.
gaj, elephant, may be confused with **gaj** (Per. **gaz**), a yard.
khaīr, a tree, may be understood as **khaīr**, welfare.

Brahmanical writers perform remarkable feats of ritualistic exegesis upon the basis of such semantic identifications of phonetically similar words.* We have already noted this tendency in the chapter on "Polysemy".

When a word is misinterpreted by means of its appearance, that is, when the meaning of some similar but unrelated word is given to it, we get what is called a "malapropism". This is also due to the existence of paronymy in our language. In **maí sabhá kí avasthá kyá hogí, avasthá** is used in place of **vyavasthá**. In **is shabda ká up'yog kis artha meń...prayog** should have been the right word. Note **kushal jí kahán haīń** for **shukla jí kahán haīń**.

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*Aufrecht's note to Aitareya Brahmana, i. 2, 3, p. 432.
Roth on Nirukta, p. 221.

virog is the malapropic form of **viyog,** separation.

botám, a button, is the result of the association of **godám** with **baṭṭan,** a button.

Contamination is the result of the phonetic and semantic similarity of words.

4. iii. Grammatical incidence.

The meaning of a term largely depends upon its function in the sentence. Words change their signification according to their use as active or passive, as masculine or feminine, as singular or plural, and so on. The subject will be discussed at length in the chapter on Sematology of Grammar. A few examples may be given here.

jáná in **vah jáy'gí,** she will go, and **ham se tumhárí bát na sunĺ jáy'gí,** your talk will not be heard by us.

khel in **mere sáth khel,** play with me, **duniyá ká khel,** the show of the world.

gaṅgá á gayá, Ganga (a man) has come, **gaṅgá á gayí,** (the Ganges (river) has come.

khoj (masc.), trace, **khoj** (fem.) search.

it'ná, so much, **it'ne,** so many.

sárá, the whole, **sáre,** all.

Note that **aur** as a conjunction means 'and', as an adjective 'different', as an adverb 'more', and as a noun 'what else', and so on.

kahíṅ, as an adverb, may mean 'somewhere', 'more', 'probably', 'ever' according as it is used in the sentence.

Compare—

kahíṅ rakh do, mujh se vah kahíṅ sukhí hāĺ, kahíṅ haṅsí na ho, patthar bhí kahíṅ pasíj'te hāĺṅ.

The morphological bond (say of a suffix) uniting two words often prevents them from acquiring a new meaning. But when it becomes weakened, a change in meaning is frequent. On account of the specialization of postpositions, **meṅ, ko, se, par, ká,** etc. create important variations in meaning.

For examples and further details see the chapters on "Sematology of Grammar" and "Syntactical Meaning."

VI

IMPORTANT VARIATIONS

VI

IMPORTANT VARIATIONS

1. CLASSIFICATION.

1. Classification.

When a word changes in meaning, it must mean either more than it meant before or less, or it must refer to something altogether different from what it designated formerly. Palmer divides semantic changes into two main groups: those which involve a change in the word-referent relation (i.e. where a word denotes a new referent', and those in which the word signifies a different aspect of the same referent.

If the meanings of words are conceived on the analogy of space, it can be said that they expand or contract, and that, by expanding and contracting, they shift. Whately classifies changes into Generalization and Specialization.

Breal, Vendryes, Tucker and a number of other scholars prefer to take three classes, namely, Restriction, Extension, and Transference. In a sense, the term 'Transference', indeed, includes Restriction and Extension, which simply mean transference of genus to species and *vice versa*. But sometimes shifting occurs directly, not through contraction or extension. Moreover, the terms specialization

and generalization are so wide that it would be proper to look for sub-classes. Under 'Restrictions' may be included cases of transference of meaning from genus to species, and under 'Generalizations', those from species to genus only. Transferences of a particular nature, such as Pejoration, Amelioration, Concretion, Abstraction, Metonymy, etc. may be grouped separately, as they are changes of special types.

It may be realized that there is still some scope for further classification under pure 'Restrictions' and 'Generalizations' as well, but it is for the general student of Semantics to analyse the question fully and comprehensively. For instance—there are changes that are conscious, and changes that are unconscious. Changes may be temporary, semi-permanent, or permanent. The permanency of changes may also be varied, a permanent change in one circle may be only temporary or unheard of in another. Again, changes of meanings may flourish at the cost of the original meaning, which is lost, or they may exist side by side with it. Sometimes intervening stages of meanings do not survive. Generally, marginal meanings simply develop out of the central meaning. A change in the real sense of the term is appreciated only when it has resulted from a series of variations, some of which must have disappeared. The number of such words, we shall find, is not very large. As a rule, variation, evolution or development is the right name for the phenomenon displayed by the meanings of our words in the course of their history. Lastly, it is advisable to classify psychological, logical and structural changes separately.

The 'Laws' of meaning-change are not yet discovered and are probably undiscoverable. Interesting observations can be made of certain tendencies and phenomena, but beyond this we can hardly go. In the case of phonetic change the mind plays comparatively little part; in changes of meaning it is, of course, the one factor. We can say that some words widen their meaning, that some narrow it, and that some shift it, and we may often be able to trace the association of ideas which brought about these occurences. But we cannot reach any fundamental principles which determine that a certain class of words shall necessarily widen rather than narrow their meaning, or *vice versa*.*

*Tucker, pp. 373-74.

2. RESTRICTIONS.

(i) Original Restrictions.
(ii) Extensional Restrictions.
(iii) Genus to Species.
(iv) Differentiation.
(v) Modifiers.
(vi) Ellipsis.
(vii) Professional and Technical Terminology.
(viii) Religious and Social Restrictions.
(ix) Historical and Geographical Restrictions.
(x) Proper Names.
(xi) Grammatical Restrictions.

2. i. Original Restrictions.

A study of Sanskrit grammar and etymology shows that specialization is a common phenomenon in OIA. The meanings of the following words should apply to many objects, but they denote one specific object from the very beginning. Specification of action in relation to a particular being or object starts from the time such words are formed.

Compare—

car (one who moves about), messenger
nayan (carrier), eye
shir (that tears), head
chanda (pleasing), rythm in poetry
vírya (the quality of a brave man), semen virile
múlya (related to the root), price
kuńjar (that moves in a bower), elephant
paṛáv (for lying), stage
laṛ'ká (the fondled one), a boy
sarpa (one who moves), snake
pávak (the purifier), fire
guhá (the secret place), cave
ur (going), breast
mauna (the quality of a Muni), silence
dhánya (related to wealth), rice
vatsal (related to a child), dear
báṛh (that grows), flood
lagán (that is fixed), land tax
cháv'ní (a stretch), cantonment.

According to Yáska a thing gets its name from its particular action, which is then a specialized sense of that word only. The

same action may be performed by different classes of beings but it is a particular individual or a group of individuals that gets its designation from this source.

2. ii. Extensional Restrictions.

Several words are formed out of the same root (dhátu), as one by one they become limited in meaning, the same source is drawn upon, and other new words are formed, which again in their course become restricted in meaning and thus the process goes on.

Compare—

bháv, feeling, **bhávi,** future, **bháv'ná,** perception, **bhávak,** effecting, **bhávik,** natural, **bhávuk,** having a poetic taste, **bhavan,** mansion, **bhav,** god, **bhavitavya,** destined, **bhavya,** grand, **bhav'díy,** yours, etc. from √ **bhú,** to be.

brhat, large, **brahma,** God, **brahmá,** god Brahmá, **brahmí,** medicinal plant, **bráhma,** Vedic, **bráhman,** a member of the priestly class, **bráhmí,** the goddess of speech, **brhaspati,** Lord of Speech, from √ **brha,** to grow.

tol, weight, **tolá,** 1/40 of a pound, **tulá,** a weighing scale, **tul'ná,** comparison, **tulya,** similar, equal, **tulik,** artist, from √ **tul,** to weigh.

janma, birth, **jantu,** a creature, **jan,** man, **jáni, jání,** wife, beloved, **jan'ní,** mother, **janáí,** midwife, **jan'ná,** to bring forth, **jan'pad,** a country, from √ **jan,** to produce.

Suffixation and prefixation is a useful device for the restriction of meaning.

Compare—

bas'ná, to live, **bás,** residence, **básá,** hotel, **basan,** clothes, **básan,** utensils.

bháṇḍá, utensil, **bhaṇḍiyá,** an earthen vessel.

máṁs, flesh, **masúṛá,** gums, **massá,** a wart.

bhiṭá, mound, **bhiṭ'ní,** nipple of a woman's breast.

bhát, cooked rice, **bhattá,** allowance.

seṁdúr, red lead, **seṁdúrí,** red cow, **seṁdúriyá,** a plant with red flowers.

Per. **surxa,** red, H. **surkhí,** pounded brick, rouge.

Skt. **rohita,** red, H. **rohú,** red fish.

Also compare **áhár,** food, **prahár,** attack, **up'hár,** gift, from √ **hr,** to take away; and **svabháv,** nature, **prabháv,** effect, **anubhav,** experience, from √ **bhú,** to be.

Tadbhava words have a chance to become specialized in meaning.

Examples—

H. **ság,** a green potherb, < Skt. **sháka,** vegetable.

H. **pokhar,** tank, < Skt. **pauṣkara,** having to do with lotuses.

H. **biloṛ'ná,** to churn, < Skt. **viloḍayati,** stirs.

H. **dhussá,** shawl, <Skt. **dúrsham,** cloth.

H. **kan'kí,** particle of broken rice, < Skt. **kaṇiká,** a grain.

Derivatives, sometimes, deviate from their original basis in respect of meanings and become more or less special words with specific meanings.

Examples—

lavaṇ, salt, but **lávaṇya,** beauty.

dhan, wealth, but **dhanya,** blessed.

mukh, face, but **mukhiyá,** principal.

jańghá, loins, but **jaghanya,** hateful.

krpá, mercy, but **krpaṇ,** miser.

bhram, confusion, but **bhramar,** a bee.

car, a spy, but **cáru,** beautiful.

gaṭṭhá, bundle, but **gaṭhílá,** fat.

puńj, heap, but **púńjí,** capital, wealth.

The discussion of a single base with its wide range of meanings, all specialized from one very general sense, is profitable and interesting in investigating countless words.

2. iii. Genus to species.

Words which formerly denoted a whole class may gradually come to mean merely a particular portion of that class.

Examples—

mrga (Skt. animal), deer; **mur'gá** (Ar. bird), cock.

madak (lit. intoxicant), a mixture of opium and betel leaves.

máńḍ (Skt. scum), scum of boiled rice.

khájá (lit. eatable), a kind of sweetmeat.

anna (lit. eaten), cereals; **annádya** (food), > **anáj,** grain.

cúná, lime, **cún,** flour, < Skt. **cúrṇa,** powder.

The most universal necessaries of life have often a very general name at the outset. Experience will show that if the name of a class of objects includes more than one species, the name of the class may easily become more narrowly applied to the species which is most prominent.

Further examples—

Skt. **upasthána,** placed, > H. **bathán,** pasturage.

Skt. **vigraha,** Pkt. **viggaha**—division, > H. **bighá,** a division of land = 5/8 acre.

Skt. **tumbati,** distresses, > H. **túṅb'ná,** to teaze cotton.

Skt. **tandra,** row, > H. **ṭáṅḍá,** a line of cattle.

Skt. **chedana,** an instrument for cutting, > H. **chení,** chisel.

Skt. **kuṭṭayati,** pounds, chops up, > H. **kuṭṭí,** chipped straw.

Skt. **lmha,** a metal, > H. **lohá,** iron.

H. **lagán,** something fixed, tax, land tax.

Skt. **vaidya,** learned, later Skt. and H. 'a physician'.

Ar. **hal'vá,** sweetmeat, > H. **haluá,** a kind of starch pudding.

2. iv. Differentiation.

When a word is equally applicable to a number of different objects which resemble each other in some respect, or to a vague or general category of ideas, it may at any moment become specialized by being used to name one of those objects or express one of those ideas. And if this particular application gains currency in the language, a new and specialized sense is the result. Giving a distinct stamp, a differentiated meaning is the one great attempt of a progressive language.

Compare—

Skt. **uṣṭra,** buffalo, camel, > H. **úṅṭ,** camel.

Skt. **rkṣa,** bear, star, > H. **rích,** bear.

Skt. **akṣara,** God, sound, a syllable, letter, word, now means 'a letter'.

Skt. **kambala,** blanket, dewlap, a sort of deer, a wall, now means 'blanket'.

Thus, of the various meanings of a word, one which is popular becomes distinct and the others are dropped. Also see the chapter .

on Polysemy.

When vagueness of meaning is materialized and defined, restriction is clear.

átmá (Skt. body, being, nature, God) now means 'soul' only.

paṅkti (orig. line, group, earth, fame, a collection of five) now means line only.

parvat (orig. mountain, rock, tree, a vegetable) is mountain only.

durga (orig. forest, difficult, pass, fort, calamity), fort only.

The restriction of meaning in synonymous words is sometimes very peculiar. Differentiation results in specification of one of the words.

Examples—

Skt. **dugdha** and **kṣíra**, milk, H. **dúdh**, milk, **khír**, rice boiled in milk.

Skt. **saṁskaraṇa** and **saṁskára**, refinement, H. **saṁskaraṇ**, edition, **saṁskár**, impression, rite.

Skt. **puṣpa** and **kusuma**, flower, H. **puṣpa**, flower, **kusum**, saffron.

Skt. **patra** and **parṇa**, leaf, H. **pattá**, leaf, **pán**, betel leaf.

Skt. **bíj** and Per. **dáná**, grain, seed, H. **bíj**, seed, **dáná**, gram.

We have also discussed this tendency in a previous chapter on "Synonymy".

2. v. Modifiers.

More specific meaning may be due to a modifier—an adjective or an adverb, e.g book, red book, this red book, this red book of mine.

Modifiers enable us to go further in specialization. The method of attaining a high degree of specialization is analogous to that of reaching the roof of a building by means of ladders.

Similarly the thing qualified limits the meaning of the qualifier, e.g.

dhíre, slowly, **dhíre bolo**, talk slowly.

lál, red, **lál pag'ṛí**, red turban,

sir, head, **sir'píṛá**, headache.

merá, mine, **merá bhái**, my brother.

The more associations or adjuncts and predications a word forms in speech, the more restricted are its significations.

Compare—

rám, Rama, may be the name of a person, living or dead.
rám ne ájáyá máni brings him in particular circumstances.
rám ne pitá kí ájáyá máni defines his characteristics still further.
dash'rath ke putra rám ne pitá kí ájáyá máni.
dash'rath ke putra rám ne prasannatá púrvak pitá kí van jáne kí ájáyá máni.

These adjuncts restrict Rama's personality and limit not only the meaning of 'Rama', but also of his qualities and actions.

2. vi. Ellipsis.

Words possess the power of absorbing the meaning of the surrounding context, which can then be discarded without appreciable loss. We have discussed in the last chapter the force of ellipsis in the restriction of meaning. Specialization frequently results from the omission of some adjective or modifier, as in—

patra (= samácár patra), newspaper
sampádak (= patra sampádak), news-editor
sámagrí (= havan sámagrí), material for Homa
mañjan (= dantamañjan), dental polish
sáhitya (= várñmay sáhitya), literary collection
kuńvar (= ráj'kuńvar), prince
bar'sí (= shráddha bar'sí), death anniversary
avadhi (= kálávadhi), time-limit
bháṣá (= hindí bháṣá), Hindi language

Compare Punjabi **káj (= byáh káj),** marriage
aṣṭamí (= kṛṣṇa janmáṣṭamí), Krishna's birthday on the 8th lunar day in Sáwan.

Here are some cases of the omission of the noun qualified—

dul'ṛá—a *necklace* with two strings
tarjaní—the warning *finger*
sańdhyá—the *time* when day and night meet
kháki—the khaki *cloth*
bid'rí—Bidari *metal-work*
madhyamá—the middle *Examination*
tipmaliyá—a three-storeyed *building*
gáṛhá—a coarse *cloth*
iṭáliyan—Italian *cloth*
ar'bi—Arabian *horse.*

Compare—

Lahndi **mahár** (monthly), monthly rent, H. **máh'várí,** monthly *contra.*

It appears that ellipsis is a very common and natural cause of the restriction of meaning.

More examples—

bhúgol (lit. earth), geography **gulál** (lit. rose-red), a red
rel (rail), railway train powder
nuk'rá (silver), a white horse **amrta** (nectar), nectar-like
bísá (having 20), a dog having water
20 nails.

Compare Punjabi **dal** (leaf) a leaf of Tulsi plant, **cauthá** (fourth) 4th mourning day, **palúṭhá** (eldest), the eldest son, etc.

It is often impossible to discover that any definite limiting words have actually been omitted, but equally clear that specialization has been accomplished by such an omission or ellipsis in thought. The omitted idea needs never have been expressed in plain words. **gaṭh'bandhan,** nuptial tie, did not start as **var'vadhú'gaṭh'bandhan,** tying of the knots of the bride and the bridegroom. **kul'pati,** a teacher in charge of ten thousand boarder-students, was not formed by omitting a number of words the meanings of which are implied. In **visarpa** (circulating), a skin disease which circulates, a complete phrase has been omitted, leaving the word to express the whole idea. This omission may be conscious or unconscious.

Restriction by ellipsis is analogous to the art of writing which started as picture-writing consisting of elaborate drawings of objects and was progressively simplified.

2. vii. Professional and Technical Terminology.

Each profession, each caste and each class, contributes to this contraction of meaning. There is hardly any profession or any walk of life which does not use general words of the language to its own advantage and give them a peculiar impress of its own, making them restricted in meaning.

goli,—(1) reel of thread to a tailor, (2) ball to a cricketer, (3) bullet to a soldier, and so on.

beni—(1) braid of hair to a lady, (2) the confluence of the

Ganges and the Jumuna to a pilgrim, (3) a piece of wood uniting two pieces of a door to a carpenter.

boli—(1) dialect to a general linguist, (2) speech to a layman, and (3) bid to an auctioneer.

jau—(1) barley, to a grain merchant, (2) a weight to a weighman, and (3) lines on the finger-joints to a palmist.

ṭiká—(1) mark on forehead to a Hindu in the temple, (2) vaccination in the municipal dispensary, (3) a gift in marriage, and (4) commentary to an editor.

Compare Punj. **munná**, a post of a spinning wheel, a plough handle, a platform for sleeping, etc.

Thus we find each class of the population tempted to employ for its own use the general terms of the language. The more a word is used by different classes, the more are the varieties of its semantic restrictions; or, as Breal points out, "the more advanced the civilization of a nation, the more varied are the restrictions of meaning."

Breal's remark, however, requires a little modification. We note that specialization is also a characteristic of primitive speech. Compare the fact that primitive people have a word for every tree but, no word for 'tree'. But the civilized man's particular is coherently, though often sub-consciously, connected with something general, e.g. anthropoid, (tail-less ape) is a sub-division of apes, ape a further division of monkeys, and monkey a division of mammals, so on and so forth. The civilized man's general is always sub-consciously present in the particular. The advanced man's struggle is always to connect his developed particulars with something general. The savage's particular remains where it is: it entirely lacks synthesis.

It is this kind of synthetic restriction which is a characteristic of professional terminology. Advancement in culture restricts meanings for the sake of exactness.

When general terms are too much restricted by a profession, they become technical terms. Most of the technical terms are instances of specialization.

Examples—

bhár (load), a measure of 100 seers. **bhánv'rí** (turning), movement of the bride and the bridegroom round the sacred fire at the end of the marriage ceremony. **muńh'dikhái**, (showing of face), presents given to the bride for showing her face to the relatives of the bridegroom. **vibhram** (mistake), putting on of ornaments,

etc. in wrong places through flurry by a heroine in amorous mood. **varaṇ** (choosing), to select a worthy person or priest for an auspicious ceremony and to do him honour by offering presents. **visheṣaṇ** (distinction), a word which qualifies or defines a noun. **khíl** (opened, broken), the soil which, having been kept fallow for a long period, is broken or cultivated for the first time. **jáṭh** (< Skt. **yaṣṭih**, a stick), the axis or roller of an oil or sugar press; etc,

More examples—

vigrah—warfare (in politics), and 'analysis' (in grammar).
sandhi—peace (in politics), and 'assimilation' (in grammar).
dhátu—root (in grammar), and 'vital elements of the body' (in medicine).

Compare—

Punj. **hattha**, (hand), a measure of 18", **káṭhí** (wood), saddle.

It may be noted that ellipsis plays an important part in the making of technical terms. Certain thoughts expressed primarily by a number of words are little by little restricted to a small number of words or even a single word.

jal'dhárá = jal dhárá ke níce bāiṭhe rah'ne kí tapasyá.
yog = ālsá tap jis se átmá mīr par'matmá ká yog prápta ho sake.
bandobasta = bhúmikar lagáne mīr ekatra kar'ne ká bandobasta.

etc., etc.

2. viii. Religious and Social Restrictions.

The seal of religion restricts meaning.

Examples—

grantha (book), a sacred book as of the sikhs.
mandir (house), temple.
shráddha (devotion), devotional offering to manes.
saṅkírtan (recitation), singing of holy songs.
lílá (sport, performance), acting of the life of Krishna.
muhárta (time), auspicious moment.
yátrá (journey), pilgrimage.
prasád (favour), sacred food.

Customs also have restricted terminology.

Compare—

shádí (happiness), marriage.

bar'sí (anniversary), death anniversary.

muṇḍan (shaving), tonsure ceremony of a child.

kriyá (action), funeral ceremony.

gauná (going), going home with a bride.

brat (vow), fast, Punj. **varat**.

sálú (cloth), a red cloth worn at ceremonies.

Punj. **saṅskár** (< **saṅskára,** ceremony), funeral.

Native words are often replaced by terms belonging to higher levels of society. In such cases, the word displaced tends to vanish in favour of the term supplanting it, unless it is retained in special connotations.

Compare—

rájá (Skt. king), now means a Hindu prince, and Per. **bád' sháh** = king.

tithi (Skt. date), now applies to lunar days, and Per. **tárikh** = date of the Christian month.

táp (Skt. warmth), fever, and Per. **gar'mí** = warmth, heat.

Note that the words **mrgayá,** hunting, game, and **ákheṭak,** have been replaced by Per. **shikár,** and **shikárí.** Similar replacements are **guptacar,** spy, by Per. **jásús; dás,** servant, by Per. **naukar; udyán,** garden, by Ar. **bág; shíghra,** soon, by Per. **jaldí,** etc.

2. ix. Historical and Geographical Restrictions.

History and Geography also place restrictions.

Compare—

díválí (a line of lamps), the Diwali festival in October-November in celebration of Rama's return to Ayodhya.

dashah'rá (the tenth day), the tenth of Ashvin lunar month in celebration of Ráma's victory over Rávana.

hij'rí (left, given up), the era which started from the date when Mohammad left Mecca for Medina.

gadar (rebellion), the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

sikkháshahí (Sikh rule), anarchy and disorder that prevailed in the Punjab after Ranjit Singh's death.

lakh'dátá (donor of lakhs), Qutub-ud-din Aibak who was a very liberal King.

gaṅgá (river), the sacred river Ganges.

síndh (sea, river), the Indus river.

dakkhan (south), the Southern India.

púrab (east), Eastern U. P. and Bihar.

himálay (the abode of snow), the series of mountains in Northern India.

bíkáner (a beautiful city), name of a particular town in Rajasthan.

2. x. Proper Names.

The above are some of the instances of common nouns becoming proper. A common name may also be understood as proper. We say **malay'giri,** Malai Hills, not knowing that Malai in Dravidian means 'mountain'. Compare also—

kán'pur shahar, which would mean the city of the town of Kṛṣṇa.

bíkáner nagar, the city of beautiful city.

gir'nár shahar, the town of the hill town.

hindustán desh, the country of the country of Hindus.

yú. pí. práńt, the province of the Uttar Provinces.

In fact **pur, nár** (< **nagar**), **pí.** (province), **sthán** have lost their original meaning in the above examples and become parts of compound proper nouns.

Descriptive names of persons and places are similarly restricted.

vańshídhar (the holder of a flute), lord Kṛṣṇa.

nar'sinh (the man lion), an incarnation of Viṣṇu connected with the story of Prah'lád.

haridvár (the gate of Viṣṇu), Hardwar.

paṅjáb, (the land of the five rivers), the Punjab.

prayág (the centre of sacrifices), Allahabad.

Patronymic and matronymic names are applied generally to the head and not to all the children as their literal meaning denotes. Examples—

vásudev (son of Vasudeva), Kṛṣṇa **pártha** (son of Pṛthá), Arjuna

gángey (son of Gangá), Bhiṣma

ján'kí (daughter of Janaka), Sita.

Linear names may also be considered here.

Examples—

rághav (a descendant of Raghu), or **raghunandan** (one who is the joy of Raghu's family), or **raghunáth**, the master of Raghus, for Rama; **páṇḍav**, a member of Pandu's family, for the five Pandavas.

Names for God, **bhag'ván**, (the Fortunate Being), **íshvar** (the Lord), **par'mátmá** (the Supreme Soul); for earth, **prthví** (the expanded), **bhúmi** (the stationary); for hell, **narak** (an unpleasant place); for heaven, **svarga** (the shining place), are also originally common nouns which now denote proper names.

Titles and surnames come to denote definite persons in a locality. Rai Sahib, Rao Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur, Gandhiji, Sapru, Varma, Vajpai, Dvivediji, etc. generally refer to single persons according to the associations of the speaker and the listener.

Nicknames are also of this type.

Also compare the pen-names of poets and writers which system has, probably, come from Persian. These are now proper names, in fact, as **nirálá, suman, baccan, nalin, rákesh, premí**, etc.

These titles are further restricted if they are rare, as—

ak'bar—Jalal-ud-din Akbar
bhár'tendu—Harishchandra
sitáre hinda—Raja Shiv Prasad
vikramáditya—Chandragupta II.

As a matter of fact, most of our proper names are actually common nouns. But they are restricted to particular persons and places.

Compare—

shiv, one who does good	**bhag'vatí**, a lady of fortune
gauri, a white girl	**durgá**, the inaccessible
iláhábád, a town of goddess	**bhaṭ'ner**, a town of warriors
jodh'pur, a town of warriors	**paṅc'vaṭí**, a place with five banyan trees.

lambodar, long-bellied, **kumbhakarṇa**, one with pitcher-like ears, **gir'dhárí**, one who holds the hill, **kṛṣṇa**, a black man, **gaṇesh**, the lord of people, **hanumán**, one with a chin, **hi..álay**, an abode of snow, **gopál**, one who takes care of cows, are all significative words so much so that, even as names, they are translated. But they are restricted in their connotation.

We have noted before that a proper name may be further restricted by a surname or adjunct (p. 173).

2. xi. Grammatical Restrictions.

Specialization of parts of speech, declensions and conjugations, terminations of gender and number, prefixes and suffixes, is a common feature of the analytical Hindi evolved from the synthetical Sanskrit. Single words or word-fragments have taken upon themselves the function of several semantemes.

Examples—

se has taken the place of Skt. **-tar, -tam, -íyas, -iṣṭha** and a large number of terminations of the instrumental and the ablative cases.

The plural terminations **-áṅ** and the oblique **-oṅ** in modern Hindi serve the purpose of a host of ancient terminations.

The simplification of so many nominal and verbal forms of Sanskrit is another instance of specialization.

The subject mainly concerns morphology and should not detain us here.

In English, the definite article is used to narrow the extent of signification. Hindi has no definite article. It, however, employs various devices to define meaning. These are—

(1) Qualifying words, such as adjectives, adverbs and pronouns.

Compare **ád'mí**, man, and **saccá ád'mí**, a truthful man, **atyanta acchá ád'mí**, an extremely good man, **vah ád'mí**, that man.

(2) The perception of nearness common to the speaker and the hearer. **shahar jáo**, go to the city; **vah skúl se áyá**, he came from the school; **peṛ ke nice**, under the tree. Also note that **doáb** in the Punjab is the land between the Beas and the Sutlej, and in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) between the Ganges and the Jamuna. **cauk** in Allahabad and Benares are different 'square markets' and are readily understood there.

It is this common perception which has specialised the signification of the names of certain persons and places which were, originally, common nouns.

Examples—

sindhu, ocean, river, > H. **sindhu**, the Indus, Sindh province.

gaṅgá (lit. a river) > Later Skt. and Hindi = 'the Ganges'
shyám sundar, the black beauty, for Krishna the black one.
gir'nár (< **girinagar**, a hill town), a hill station in Gujrat.
himálay (the abode of snow), the name of the series of mountains in India.
páṭan (< Skt. **paṭṭanam**, city), is the name of a town in Gujrat.
deví (goddess), Goddess Durgá.

Also consider words expressing relationship. Even if the relation exists on one side only, reference is unmistakable. **mátá jí á gaíá**, my or our mother has come, **pitá jí kahán haĩá**, where is your father ?

The perception may be supported and defined by signs made by the eyes or the hands or by other gestures.

Certain words refer to specific objects on account of their common use, as—

dakṣiṇ (south), South India, **viláyat** (country), England.

(3) Past utterances of the speaker. Once the definite sense is grasped, the same sense may continue to attach to the word throughout the further course of conversation. **strí ne sam'jhá ki ve áj áeṅge, parantu sáhab ne patra tak na likhá, vah deví ghab'ráí —kare to kyá kare ?**

Here **strí** and **deví** refer to the particular woman named Rádhá in the story, and **ve** and **sáhab** to her husband who is a police officer.

Restrictions of this kind are common in narratives, descriptions and compositions and between persons who have a common understanding of the subject.

(4) Sometimes a closer definition is required. **miyáń**, man, **mahal**, palace, and **patra**, paper, for example, are restricted in **búṛhe miyáń**, the old man, **ráj mahal**, royal palace, and **samáchár patra**, newspaper. But they are still indefinite, unless be other factors in the situation which tend to single out an individual.

(5) A definite sense spreads from one word to others placed in relation to it.

Examples—

maĩáne us'ko báhu se pak'ṛá. Here **báhu** means 'her arm'.

(6) Emphasis results in specialization of this type.

Compare—

rám **vahán se á gayá**, Rama (perhaps none other), came away from that place.

rám vahán se **á gayá**, Rama came away from that place, he might have gone to some other.

rám vahán se á gayá, Rama has come and he is here.

3. GENERALIZATION.

(i) VAGUE TERMS.
(ii) TRANSFERENCE.
(iii) ANALOGICAL GENERALIZATION.
(iv) FIGURE OF SPEECH.
(v) DIFFERENTIATION.
(vi) OMISSION OF THE MODIFYING SENSE.
(vii) SPECIES TO GENUS.
(viii) COMMONIZATION OF PROPER NAMES.

Generalization is a relative term. In a sense, every word other than the name of an individual is general. It is specialized or restricted in comparison with the more general term. Dog is only less general than animal, bulldog less general than dog, and Jack still less general than bulldog. Vájapyáyana holds that all words are expressive of 'class'. We restrict them by relative use.

Widening, it is true, appears to be comparatively rare. Since the aim of the language is to express thought more and more adequately, it follows that language tends rather to a more precise than to a less precise application of a word.

3. i. Vague Terms.

Still in our language there are numerous words of vague or complex signification, such as **accha**, good, **burá**, bad, **bahut**, much, which have a host of shaded meanings.

In every language there is a special stock of words that mean little or nothing, but may stand for almost anything, as **vastu**, thing,

bahut acchá, all right, very well, **ek bát kah'ní hæ̃,** I have to say one thing, **abhí kiye detá hún,** I shall do it just now, **zará suniye,** please listen a little, etc.

Such unconscious "flourishes" in speech were once used in a definite sense, but now they have faded into a vague and shadowy condition.

The word becomes so very general that it ceases to distinguish anything in particular from everything else. That is, a term that can be applied to everything means nothing, as a man who is equally intimate with everybody has no real friends.

More examples—

ád'mí, a man, a woman, a human being including a child.
sab'jí, greenery, vegetation, vegetable, herb, etc.
ghúm'ná, to move, to stroll, to walk, to rotate, etc.
log, people, men, women, children, any persons in plural.
nárí, woman, lady, wife.

3. ii. Transference.

Many examples of so-called widening are in reality cases of transference, from time to place, from one sense to another, from part to whole, from one part to another, from one object to another similar object, from one profession to another, and so on. The phenomenon of polysemy has already been dealt with in Chapter III, and it has been noted how meanings of words expand. Expansion by transference will be discussed in the next section. A few examples may be given here.

sávan, name of a month, a song sung in that month.
farásis, France, printed cloth from France.
bhár, load, responsibility.
píṭh, back, seat, chair, throne.
makán, residence, building, house, home-land.
devi, goddess, a lady.

Compare Punj. **kaṇḍá,** thorn, a small scale, a swelling in the throat, a fish-bone (also H. **kánṭá**), dryness or roughness of the tongue, a spur.

Guj. **paṭ,** cloth, a curtain, a badge, a scarf, a roll, a catalogue, schedule, a map.

3. iii. Analogical Generalisation.

The effect of analogy has already been discussed. Correspondence of shape, length, breadth, size or function may be applied to other objects and thus words are extended in application. **ṭikaṭ** is extended from 'railway ticket' to a 'pass', 'stamp' and 'receipt'. **lāṭ sāhab**, a lord, is applied to the Viceroy, Commander-in-chief, provincial governors, even if they were not lords. **puṛā** (< Skt. **puṭakam**, fold, pocket, wallet), packet. **pūjā**, worship, offering, bribe, fine. Also note **kāṇṭā**, thorn, used for 'fish-bone' or **masā**, mosquito, a wart; **pūnch**, tail, tail-end, appendage.

Compare—

Punj. **caṛ**, peg, overgrown skin.

Guj. **cāmpaṭ** (a clasp), a lock, the key of a machine, a screw-press, a fish-hook, an instrument of torture.

Real or assumed resemblance in appearance, function or relation thus tempts us to use the words denoting one class for other classes of objects.

3. iv. Figure of Speech.

Generalization may be due to some special figure of speech. Examples—

cūṛāmaṇi (a head ornament), best.

cappā (the breadth of four fingers), a little space.

H., P. **colā** (shirt), body.

sūr'dās, a blind man (after Surdas, the blind poet.)

Compare Punj. **hāfiz** (< Per. **hāfiz**, scholar who has learnt the Qoran), a blind man.

The verb is the part of speech which presents the most numerous examples of expansion. Note the meaning of **banānā**, in **kur'sī banānā**, to make a chair, **hajāmat banānā**, to cut hair, **kisī ko banānā**, to befool, **kām banānā**, to accomplish some work, etc.; **kar'nā**, to do, in **ghar kar'nā**, to build a house, to settle, **roṭī kar'nā**, to cook food, **sāf kar'nā**, to make clean, **ṭhikānā kar'nā**, to find a place, **rāj kar'nā**, to administer, **pār kar'nā**, to go across, etc.; **rah'nā** in **vah rah'tī hai**, she lives there, **khaṛe rah'nā**, to keep standing, **rah'ne do**, leave it, **kisī ke rah'te**, in some one's presence,

rah rah kar, again and again, **rah jáná,** to be left, etc.

Also see the chapter on Idiom and Usage.

3. v. Differentiation.

Of synonymous terms, one may be differentiated by being generalized in meaning.

Compare—

gánv, village, **dehát,** the village and its fields.

pattá, leaf, **patra,** leaf, paper, newspaper.

gappa, gossip, false story, **galpa,** a short story, false or true.

dás, servant, Per. **bandá** (servant), man.

citra, painting, Per. **naqshá** (painting), chart, map.

3. vi. Omission of the Modifying Sense.

Some words imply objects or actions of a particular nature. In course of time the modifying sense elides and the word denotes the whole class.

Examples—

Skt. **ghoṭaka,** a poor horse, > **ghoṛá,** a horse.

Skt. **karpaṭa,** old cloth, > **kap'ṛá,** cloth.

Skt. **gaveṣaṇá,** search after a lost cow, now means 'search'.

Skt. **goṣṭhí,** cow's assembly, means 'assembly'.

Skt. **mauna,** the silent conduct of a sage, now means 'silence'.

Skt. **sthálí,** an earthen dish, > H. **thálí,** a plate.

3. vii. Species to Genus.

Instead of designating one category only the word may come to designate the whole class, as—

mái (< **mátr,** mother), woman.

dám (orig. a copper coin), price.

rupayá (rupee), money, as in **bahut sá rupayá cáhiye.**

bhái (brother), kinsmen, friends.

syáhí (black ink), ink of any colour.

In the Punjab **shiválá** (Shiva's temple) = temple, **ḍholá** (love-songs of the Rajput lover, named Dhola) = lovesong.

Compare Mar. **kádambarí** for 'novel' after Bána's work with this title.

Instead of denoting one set of things a word may extend to more than one set.

Examples—

prajá (Skt. children), subjects, children.

sasur or Punj. **sāh'rá**, wife's or husband's father, < **shvashura** (Skt. husband's father).

var (Skt. chosen husband), husband, bridegroom.

khalási (Ar. **xalási**, a tent-pitcher), a labourer (in the Punjab and Sindh).

nal (pipe), water-pump, spout, tube, tap, cylindrical case.

dúdh (milk), milk of animals, juice of plants.

barfa (Per. snow), snow, ice.

Sometimes the word denoting one sex is used for the whole class, male as well as female.

Examples—

ghoṛá, horse and mare
billí, he and she-cat
totá, parrot, male and female
kuttá, dog and bitch.

Note also that there is no word to denote opposite sex in the following—

jug'nú, glow-worm
khaṭ'mal, gnat
cíl, vulture,
ullú, owl,
mak'ṛí, locust
etc.
macchar, mosquito
mainá, Myna bird

A word in singular may be used for plural, as **bhái**, brother, brethren, **patthar**, stone, stones, **ret**, sand, sands, **ján'var**, animal, animals.

3. viii. Commonization of Proper Names.

Proper names made common are also cases of generalization.

In **yashodá hamáre ghar kí lakṣmí hai, lakṣmí** means an auspicious girl.

In **kaliyug ke bhím, bhím** means a brave man (ironically).

bharat, an actor (after Bharata, the father of Indian Drama.)

bibhíṣaṇ (name of the brother of Rávana), a traitor.

majnú, a thin person (after Majnu of Iranian legend).

shaṅkarácárya is now a common epithet of the religious heads of the sect founded by Shaṅkarácárya.

Extensions are also available in titles, class-names and surnames, as—

seṭh (the best person), a rich man, a shopkeeper (in Sind).

cáṇḍál (one sprung from a Sudra father and Brahman mother), Sudra.

aṅg'rez (Englishman), erroneously used for all whitemen, Europeans and Americans.

baṅgálí may be living in Benares, Allahabad or in the Punjab.

khatrí may not be a warrior, as the word denotes, but also a businessman.

már'várí is not necessarily a resident of Marwar.

yavan (orig. Greek), a non-Hindu.

rúmí (Roman), a Turk, a European.

phiraṅgí (Frank), applies to a European or Eurasian.

Also note common names among Hindi speakers, such as **kṛṣṇa, rám, hari, mohan, sohan, nának, gaṅgá, prem, choṭú, báke, rádhá,** which apply to hundreds of men in India.

Also consider the folk names which are proper only in form—

dámáshán, an insolvent person, **shekh cillí,** dreamer, **lál bujhakkar,** a wiseacre.

4. OTHER TRANSFERENCES.

(i) PEJORATION.
- (a) ASSOCIATION.
- (b) CULTURAL DEGRADATION.
- (c) FIGURE OF SPEECH.
- (d) SPECIALIZATION.

(ii) AMELIORATION.
- (a) ASSOCIATION.
- (b) FIGURE OF SPEECH.
- (c) ELLIPSIS.

(iii) CONCRETION.
- (a) PERSONIFICATION.
- (b) QUALITY OR STATE FOR OBJECT.
- (c) QUALITY OR STATE FOR PLACE.

(d) Action for Object.
(e) Action for Wages.
(f) Action for Place.
(g) Ellipsis.
(h) Modifiers.
(i) Grammatical usage.
(iv) Abstraction.
(a) Symbolic Representation.
(b) Action for Quality.
(c) Object for Quality.
(d) Object for Action.
(e) Adjectivization.
(f) Differentiation.
(g) Metaphor.
(v) Synecdoche.
(a) Part-Whole.
(b) Singular-Plural.
(vi) Metonymy.
(a) Cause-Effect.
(b) Receptacle-Contents.
(c) Place-Product.
(d) Author-Writing.
(e) The Sign and the Signified.
(vii) Analogical Transference.
(viii) Allied Transference.
(ix) Evolutionary Transference.

4. Other Transferences.

"The name of anything", says Aristotle, "is either its own name or one transferred to it from something e'se". The Romans had the proverb: "Everything has two handles". This is very true of words. Almost every conception has two aspects,—subjective and objective. A thing or person is either an active agent or an affected object. There is close reliance between the cause and the effect, between the part and the whole, between the place and its product, etc. Transference of meaning occurs between two allied ideas or aspects of an idea. It relates to things spacially, temporally or casually associated,

VI

Specialization and generalization are also cases of transference, the transference of species into genus and genus into species. Under this section, however, we shall discuss the causes and incidence of forms of transferences other than restriction and generalization.

4. i. Pejoration.

Descent, we know, is easy, and words, like people, show a propensity to fall away from their better selves. Moreover, it is in the nature of human frailty to take pleasure in looking for a vice or a fault behind a quality.

4. i(a). Association.

Semantic pejoration is mainly due to the bad associations in which words are frequently used in the current language.

A. Almost any term of reproach or word that suggests inferiority may come to imply moral badness.

Examples—

suar (boar), a rascal — **ghaṭiyá** (less), inferior, mean
chudrá (little), prostitute — **heṭhá** (lower), mean
daridra (poor), wretched — **caṇḍál** (of low caste), wretch
guṅḍá (from Gond tribe?), a disorderly characterless person.

Compare Punj. **mandá** (<Skt. **manda,** slow), bad.

B. The degeneration of terms designating servants may also be noted here.

dasyu (orig. a tribal name), a slave, a Sudra, **dás'tá,** service, thraldom, **chok'rá** (a boy), menial servant.

Punj. **gullá** (Per. **ghulám,** servant), a joker.

C. Fashions exist in words as well as in dress. Some words fall into disrepute simply by being neglected by educated people, so that they become in course of time the peculiar property of the backward people. Words used by rustic people and avoided by urban speakers become vulgarisms.

laṭṭha (staff), penis, a fool — **ghaṇṭá** (bell), penis
pád'ná, to break wind — **cod'ná** (to urge), to copulate.

Also compare the expression **tum bhí nipaṭ shah'rí ho,** you

are cunning, and **vah gaṅvár hāī**, he is a fool; cf. **dehátí** or Punj. **peṅḍú** (villager), rustic, uncultured.

D. There are certain occupations and conditions in life the associations of which are the reverse of noble or distinguished.

camárí (the work of a cobbler), mischief, cheating.
jaṅg'lí (from a forest), wild, barbarian.
cāūbe (caturvedí Brahmans), a gluttonous class.
dev'dásí (god's servant), dancing harlot.
paṅḍá (< **paṇḍita** a Brahman), toll-collector at a river, coolie, cf. **páni páṅḍe** in Eastern U. P. and Bihar railway stations.
mahájan (a big man), a Bania.

E. Sometimes the element joined to the original meaning is derived from the context.

cál (movement), a wicked move, as in **cál calí**, played a trick.
latí (< Ar. **i'lat**, habit), mischievous, Punj., **il'tí**
gandha, bú (smell), for bad smell.
ḍhaṅgí (one with a method), selfish, cunning.

Compare H., Punj., Lah. **calittar** (< Skt. **caritra**, conduct), fraud, Guj. **hál** (condition), wretched circumstances.

F. Take words which have developed meanings opposite to the original ones.

asur (orig. means 'lord of life'), demon, is degraded on account of the supposed negative prefix.
máhur (< Skt. **madhura**, sweet), poison.
gah'rí chan'ná, to be friends, to be enemies.
khasam (Ar. enemy), husband, master.

Opposite terms are related terms, and transference of related ideas is easy.

4. i(b). Cultural Degradation.

In some words degradation is the result of change in our cultural thinking.

puruṣ (highest being, soul, body), meaning person, shows our egotism.
bhút (past), **pret** (living beings)=djin, evil spirit.
aút (< Skt. **aputra**. sonless), wretched.
krpaṇ (pitiable), miser.

(Note here the effect of cultural thinking on meaning change. The Aryans have thought that a miserly fellow is pitiable, and that one who does not give away his money in charity is an enemy).

A. Words connected with superstitions become degraded. Words for 'left' (being inauspicious) are liable to deterioration and replacement. Compare **kharva, khabbá,** which now mean 'crippled', in Bombay **báín.**

jammú and other place-names are not mentioned in the morning for fear of their inauspiciousness.

Also see the section on "Euphemism" in the last chapter for more examples.

B. Consider, too, the effect of pretentiousness and desire to be elegant, learned or rational.

mohan'bhog (lit. an attractive food), starch pudding.
laghushaṅká (small doubt), small bathroom, urinating.
mahápraṣád (the big food), meat.
caraṇ'dási (the servant of the feet), shoe.

Compare the Oriya name **amrtabháṇḍa** for the papaw fruit, and the Punj. **kaṛáh par'sád** for starch pudding.

C. Borrowed words are generally degraded in another country. Compare the following Perso-Arabic words in Hindi—

cálák (active), tricky
bávarcí (steward), cook
dárogá (officer), jail warden
kánún'go (law officer), a village accountant
khalífá (caliph), barber
vakíl (Ar. magistrate), pleader
mizáj (condition), pride
dalál (manager), go-between, broker

khán'kí in slang Hindi and Bengali means 'prostitute' < Per. Ar. **xánqáh,** shrine.

Also Compare Punj. **jaṇṭar'maín** (gentleman), a showy modernized person, or Telugu **pille,** son, H. **pillá,** puppy.

D. The effects of party warfare, of offensive nationality and of the strife of interests and of opinions, often give rise to bad senses of words.

muslim lígí (member of the Muslim League), a narrow-minded Muslim.
hab'shí (Abbysinian), black barbarian
yavan (Greek), foreigner
barbar (from Turkey), Barbarian
gorá (white), a westerner
ṭámí (Tommy), a white soldier of a low rank
kaṭahulá (castrated), a Muslim

pharaṅgí (Frank), a foreigner **aghorí** (Shivite), hateful, dirty
musal'mán (Muslim), savage
jápání mál, cheap goods as from Japan **láhuri ṭhag**, a rogue (like a Lahori).

Note that in the Punjab, they say **banár'si ṭhag** and **mul'tání ṭhag**. Also note **pashto bol'ná** in Punjabi denoting 'nonsense talk'.

E. Terms belonging to the controversies of religion and politics suffer a like degeneration.

The word **pákhaṇḍa** has an interesting history. It was formerly used in quite a good sense. But now it has come to mean the very opposite. A sect of ascetics, who were non-Buddhists, were called **páṣaṇḍáh (pásaṇḍáh,)** by the Emperor Asoka and were awarded royal gifts by him. Manu uses the word in the sense of non-Brahmanical. Later on, Vāiṣṇavas began to apply the term to sects other than theirs. It came to acquire the general meaning of 'unbeliever', 'sinner', 'rogue'. **árya samáji** is now taken to mean a hypercritical fellow by antagonistic sects. Similarly **pīrápik** has come to mean a superstitious or hyperritualistic fellow by the others. More examples are—

cárvák (eloquent), pagan, **nimkar'sháhí**, beaurocracy.
sámrájyavád (imperialism), despotism, corrupted administration, enslaving of other nations.
vedántí (well versed in the Vedánta philosophy), non-believer.

Compare Fascism, Nazism, Bolschevism, Tory, Conservative, or Catholic in European languages, or note that the meaning of **Hindú** in Persian is thief, rascal.

Sometimes people who subscribe to these ideas in practice feel shy of the names which have suffered from pejoration. Real imperialists will never acknowledge their formal adherence to imperialism, but try to pass it off as democracy, nationalism, etc.

4. i(c). Figure of Speech.

The word takes its first step on the downward path when it is used in slight and jocose disparagement. Gradually it becomes a term of contempt or reprobation.

hazrat (presence, lord), rogue.
ráy sáhab (the title of Rai Sahib), sycophant.

bhaktajī (a devotee), trecherous, also used for a potter.

In the Punjab common people generally resent being called 'Rai Sahib'.

Also compare terms of flattery and politeness.

mahārāj (emperor), Sir

shrī (prosperity), any person, Mr.

shrīmān (the prosperous person), any man.

deviyo aur sajjano (goddesses and goodmen), ladies and men!

sar'dār (chief), any Sikh (in Punjabi).

A. When words are used euphemistically, they become degenerated. When a word is degraded another takes its place and becomes degraded in turn.

shauc (cleanliness), **ṭaṭṭī** (shelter), **jaṅgal** (forest), **bāhar** (outside), **jhāṛā** (sweeping, cf. purging), have been replacing one another, as English 'lavatory', 'closet', 'latrine', 'bathroom', etc.

Vide the section on Euphemism in the last chapter.

B. Exaggeration clips the actual power of words, as in—

virāṭ sabhā (a universal assembly), a big meeting.

pralay'kārī drshya (doom-making scene), dreadful scene.

gazab kī bāt (a tyrranous thing), a strange thing.

kamāl ho gayā (it is perfection !), well done.

C. Words used in the superlative degree tend to lose their force and dignity.

shreṣṭha (best), good ; **uttam** (best), good, as in **atyuttam**, very good.

Compare also **bahut acchā**, very well, all right, simply meaning 'yes'.

D. Words possessed of a very strong meaning become less forcible in expression by being constantly used. Emotional words tend to deteriorate.

mahāshay and **bābū**, titles of respect in Bengal and U. P. are disliked in the Punjab.

devī (goddess), a girl, a woman.

atishay, ativ, atimātra (extremely), **alaukik** (unearthly), **adbhut** (strange), mean simply 'very', or 'much'.

E. Irony also results in the degradation of meaning.

Examples—

sadā suhāgan (never separate from a husband), prostitute

vārāng'nā (a nymph), prostitute

bholá (innocent), stupid **sídhá** (straight), fool.

4. i(d). Specialization.

Degeneration may also spring from specialization. Compare—

saṁsarga (union), copulation of wife and husband **sambhog** (enjoyment), sexual enjoyment

rati (love), sexual enjoyment **pínáa**, to drink, to drink wine.

In Punjabi **amal** (from Arabic for 'action') means an act of intoxication.

Sometimes a word shows deterioration in some of its uses, but maintains itself in others. Such words are still in the midway, i. e. they are used both in their ordinary and bad senses.

havá, air, evil effect **cak'lá**, region, brothel

pínáa, drink, drink wine **ácárya**, teacher, undertaker

chan'ná, to be filtered, to be used as an intoxicant **chak'ná**, to be satiated, to be intoxicated.

Punj. **rapḍí**, a widow, a prostitute.

Some suffixes have a specialized sense of degradation, as in—

bátúní, talkative **dabbú**, a subservient **laṅg'ṛá**, lame.

For details see section 3, chapter II on "Evolution of Meaning".

4. ii. Amelioration.

Just as improvement in the physical, moral or social realm is more difficult than regression, so also is the case with words.

4. ii(a). Association.

Amelioration of meaning may be due to the association of a word with a high personality or a cultured object.

kṛṣṇa, kánha (dark), the dark-coloured Viṣṇu.

chattar (umbrella), royal umbrella, an ornamental umbrella over an idol.

bhíṣma (terrible), a warrior, after Deva Vrata, the great hero.

In every province children are named after a big personality, although the name may originally have a bad meaning.

The stamp of religion ameliorates meaning as in—

jáp (< Skt. **jalpa**, to talk), prayers.

mandir (house), temple.

kalash (pitcher), a ceremonial pitcher.

mukti (release), salvation of the soul.

grantha (book), for the sikhs means their holy scriptures, and **thán**, place, for the Jaikrishnis in the Punjab means 'a temple'.

4. ii(b). Figure of Speech.

The whimsicality of affection takes delight in transforming abusive words into caresses. **buddhú** and **págal**, mad, have lost their abusive sense, especially when parents, elderly people or even friends use them. We have discussed the force of cacophemism in the last chapter.

4. ii(c). Ellipsis.

Ellipsis of the modifying adjective but retention of that modifying sense is responsible for the amelioration of a large number of words. Examples—

mahal (house), palace, i.e. royal house

tyuhár (orig. **tithivár**, a day), festival

shakun, a good omen

gaddí (cushion), throne

muhárta (time), an auspicious time

keshiní, having long hair

kulín, of a good family.

nám (Punj. **náṁ**) good name, fame; Punj. **sáh** (breath, moment), auspicious day.

These may be compared with words in which modifying sense is omitted, as—

kap'ṛá (old cloth), cloth

gilás (glassware,) a tumbler

kaṭhauṭí (a wooden vessel), a tub

bhánḍá (earthenware,) utensils.

It is interesting to note a few of the many instances of the divergence towards degradation, on the one hand, and to elevation on

the other, among associated pairs and groups of words.
Compare—

nagaṇya, very few, but **an'ginat**, many.
múlyahín, cheap, free, but **an'mol**, valuable.
nágar, clever, (from **nagar**) but **nág'rí**, the cultivated script.
paribhášá, definition, but **paribhásaṇ**, censure.

4. iii. Concretion.

The transformation of an abstract meaning to a concrete one is quite common in Hindi. An abstract word, instead of keeping its abstract sense, instead of remaining the exponent of an action, a quality, or a state, becomes the name of a material object. In general, concrete meanings are earlier than abstract ones. But, sometimes the abstract meaning comes first.
Examples—

nibandha (cf. composition), essay
suhág (Skt. **saubhágya**), a marriage song
upanyás (statement), novel
sámagrí (collection), material
tanáv (stretch), a cord
parivár (covering), family

etc., etc.

The main categories of this kind of transference may now be considered.

4. iii(a). Personification.

Abstract things may be personified, as **mṛtyu**, death, **prem**, love. Compare **dharma** in Skt. **dharma ev hato hanti**, righteousness killed may kill.

With this may be considered the metaphorical compounds **virahágni**, the fire of separation, **vicár'dhárá**, a current of ideas, **vidyádhan**, the wealth of knowledge.

Also note the idioms, in which abstract terms have been associated with concrete actions. **áváz baiṭh gaí**, the voice is hoarse, **izzat kho gaí**, honour is lost, **bát uṛáná**, to start a rumour; etc.

Some abstract objects are represented in concrete form. Fame has white colour in Sanskrit literature, infamy is black, passion or

anger is red, joy is white and so on. The Hindus, the Chinese and the Gypsies represent sorrow or mourning by white colour. Red is used for danger, green for 'all clear', white for peace, etc.

4. iii(b). Quality or State for Object.

One striking use of the abstract for the concrete is the application of the name of a quality to a person or thing, as in English "she is perfection". This is the reverse of personification.

Examples—

dev'tá (godhood), god
birád'rí (brotherhood), brethren
sabzí (greenery), vegetable
padya (recitation), poem
shakti (power), spear.
jan'tá, popularity, public
safedí (whiteness), white-washing, lime
játi (birth), caste
gadya (recitation), prose

4. iii(c). Quality or State for Place.

Sometimes, though rarely, we find a word denoting quality or state used for place, as in—

durgati (bad condition), hell
tírtha (pilgrimage), a holy place
vásá (residence), hotel
jantar mantar (charms), observatory.

4. iii(d). Action for object.

The name of an action is sometimes transferred to its subject or to its object.

Compare—

katar'ní (cutting), scissors
savárí (riding), vehicle
bheńt (meeting), gift
neutá (invitation), feast
pahuńc (reaching), receipt
savárí (riding), rider
púja (worshipping), offerings
khánd (eating), food
bhikṣá (begging), begged food
puraskár (placing in front), prize.

The same may be used for the object which in any way is affected by the activity. More examples—

kalá (art), machine **phaṭ'kan** (thrashing), husk.

Compare Punj. **pújhaṇ** (wiping), a duster, Lahndi **gaḍḍaṇ** (sowing), manure, H., Punj. **kat'ran** (cutting), cut-pieces.

4. iii(e). Action for Wages.

Some words stand for action as well as wages.

cirái, sawing, wages for sawing
dhuláí, washing, charges for washing
siláí, sewing, and charges
kaṭáí, cutting, and charges
pisáí, grinding, and charges
ban'váí, charges for making.

4. iii(f). Action for Place.

Some actions come to stand for places.

Examples—

jhar'ná (ooze), a spring
sthán (staying), place
nissáraṇ (turning out), exit
pál'ná (bringing up), cradle
saṅgam (meeting), meeting place
tháṛá (Pkt. **thaḍ**, collecting), platform.

Compare H., Punj. **baiṭhak** (sitting), sitting room.

4. iii(g). Ellipsis.

Concretion of meaning is very commonly the result of ellipsis, as in—

cetí, spring 'harvest'
piy'rí (yellow), a yellow Dhoti
sádhu (upright), honest man
kacrí (uncooked), food cooked in water.

Skt. **kacavara**, dirty, > H. **kac'rá**, fragments.

Ellipsis generally results in substantivization.

More examples—

bure, bad 'persons'
baṛe, big 'people'

Skt. **guhya**, to be covered, H. **guh**, excretion (= **guhya**

padártha). Compare Punj. **kálá**, black 'snake', **vaḍḍá** (big), an ancestor.

4. iii(h). Modifiers.

Sometimes, through modifiers which make general terms restricted, abstract terms become concrete.
Compare—

klesh, torture, **it'ná klesh**, so much torture, **rám ká klesh**, torture inflicted on Rama.

icchá, desire, **merí icchá**, my wish, **merí ek icchá**, one wish of mine.

4. iii(i). Grammatical Use.

Gender and number of abstract terms in Hindi suggests that such terms have been concreted, as—
Mas. **árám**, rest, **prem**, love, **moh**, illusion.
Fem. **prárthaná**, request, **havá**, air, **píṛá**, pain.
pl. **garmiyáń**, summer days, **áp'dáyeń**, hardships.

4. iv. Abstraction.

Abstraction, it may be remarked, is a consequence of linguistic culture. Most of the backward peoples have not yet developed the sense of abstracting their concrete terms. In this connection, again, note may be made of the fact that our primitive terms are generally concrete. Gradation in abstraction, detailed below, may be appreciated.

4. iv(a). Symbolic Representation.

The phenomenon of symbolic representation of abstract terms is not very common in Hindi. A few examples are given below—

hal, plough, representing husbandry.

daṇḍa, staff, representing justice.
safed bál, gray hair, representing old age.
vedí, altar, representing marriage or sermon.
kapál, lalát, forehead, representing luck.
chátí, kalejá, heart, representing courage.

4. iv(b). Action for Quality or State.

The use of a word of action for quality or state is another instance of abstraction.
Compare—

patan (falling down), decline
dán (giving), charity
vikram (stride, as in **trivikram**) prowess
cál (gait), policy
calan (movement), character
bhram (wandering), misapprehension
tamáshá (orig. Per. moving about), fun, etc.

4. iv(c). Object for Quality.

Sometimes, the name of a substance may come to mean a quality, as—

sál (thorn), pain
pakṣa (wing), side, fortnight
dil (heart), intention
phal (fruit), result
láṭhí (stick), support
ág (fire), mischief.

See "Idioms" in a later chapter.

4. iv(d). Object for Action.

A few words for persons or substances develop into action.
Examples—

sirámá, (from **sirá,** extremity), to pass.
hathiyámá (from **háth,** hand), to cheat.
ras'má (from **ras,** juice), to drip.
kudáde (Per. a yard), to jump.

The phenomenon is more common in English than in Hindi. Compare Macadamize, boycott, sandwiched, etc.

4. iv(e). Adjectivization.

Some nouns become adjectives without any change in their form. Compare—

pavitra (orig. mantra, rays of the sun, water, god), pure, from the idea of sanctity associated with those objects.

Skt. **kaṅkála** (skeleton) = H. **kaṅgál**, poor, indigent.

silípaṭ (< Skt. **shilápaṭṭa**, slab), even, square.

Also note the adjectivization of nouns in compounds.

go lok (here **go** = celestial), the heavens.

din'caryá (here **din** = daily), day's programme.

dharma jívan, (**dharma** = religious), religious life.

nar'medh (**nar** = human) human sacrifice.

janmadin (**janma** = celebrating birth), birthday.

4. iv(f). Differentiation.

At times, abstraction and differentiation proceed simultaneously, as in—

páni, water, **áb** (Per. water), splendour

lahar, wave, **mamj** (Per. wave), emotion

ádhá, half, **nim** (Per. half), light.

4. iv(g). Metaphor.

Metaphorical use of a large number of concrete terms makes them abstract in meaning.

nimagna (drowned), busy **bhár** (load), responsibility

párá (mercury), passion **ḍáh** (burning), jealousy

gadhá (ass), stupid fellow.

Also note the phrases—**kán dhar'ná**, to listen, **dil demá**, to love.

Compare Punj. **báṅh páṇá** (lit. to put arm), to dare.

Verbs may also be transferred from physical to mental application.

chán'ná (to sieve), to search **ulajh'ná** (to be entangled), to quarrel

már'ná (to kill), to embezzle

pis'ná (to be ground), to suffer **ujáṛ'ná** (to uproot), to ruin.

Compare Punj. **viṭ'ṇá** (to pour), to be enamoured.

4. v. Synecdoche

Synecdoche is a Greek term meaning 'inclusion'. It is taken to mean the process by which two terms of unequal extent, i.e. terms one of which can be included in the other—are interchanged. The following classes may be noted here—

4. v(a). Part-whole.

The whole may signify a part, as **mujhe darda hāi,** may mean 'I have pain in my stomach, head, leg or any other part of the body'. or **makán khulá hāi** for 'the door of the house is open', or **bájár mandá hāi** for 'wheat or gold or any other single article is now selling cheap.'

A part may designate the whole, as **jal'pán** drinking of water, which includes also vegetables, fruits, sweets, salts, tea, etc.; **roṭí kháná,** to eat bread, which also includes meat, fish, vegetables, pickles, and also drinking of water; **nahá dho kar,** having bathed and washed, including application of oil, powder, cream, and combing of hair. Similarly, **vaṅg,** the name of a small tribe, is now applied to all the people belonging to Bengal. **hiádá,** designating the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, now applies to the people of the whole country. More examples are—

H. **náhar,** tiger, < Skt. **nakhara,** claw, **batti** (wick), lamp, **hath'kaṛí** (hand-ring), the whole chain including hand-cuffs; **pháṭak** (gate), kine-house.

4. v(b). Singular-Plural.

Plural may signify singular, as in **áp'ke darshan,** your sight, **mere práṇ,** my life, **tere bhágya,** your fortune.

pitá jí áye, father has come, **ghar ke log,** wife.

All these terms are plural in form but singular in meaning.

naváb is plural from Ar. 'náib', a deputy, but it is used in singular.

Hindi has the peculiarity of using honorific forms—nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs—for singular signification.

Sometimes singular may be used for plural as in **ám mah'ág hāl, us'ke pás bahut** rupayá **hāl, mele meṅ bahut** ád'mí **th kap'ṛá sastá bik rahá hāl,** where the words in roman type ha been employed in singular to mean 'mangoes', 'rupees', 'person and 'cloths.'

4. vi. Metonymy.

Metonymy, in Greek, means 'change of name', a vague and ur meaning term. But technically speaking, it is a process of semanti transference which consists in substituting the cause for the effec the effect for the cause, the receptacle for the contents, the conten for the receptacle, the place for the product, the product for th place, the writer for his writings, the writings for their author, th sign for the thing signified and the thing signified for the sign.
Examples—

4. vi(a). Cause-Effect.

The cause may stand for the effect, as in—
bhrúbhaṅg (twisting of eyebrows), exasperation.
gáṅṭh kaṭ'ná (cutting of the purse), to be cheated.
khák ḍál'ná (to put dust over), to bury, to conceal.
koh'ní már'ná (to elbow), to push.
etc.
So also, the effect may signify the cause—
gál picak'ná, to be weak (lit. to have thinned cheeks).
gar'dan hiláná (to move the neck), to refuse.
khún súkh'ná (drying up of blood), to be frightened.
khaṛá rah'ná (to keep standing), to wait.
See Idioms in a later chapter.

4. vi(b). Receptacle-Contents.

The receptacle may denote the contents, as **thálí paross** means 'serve *food* in a plate', **sárá shahar kah'tá hāl,** means 'the

people in the city say so', **mā́ī́ gáy duh'tá húń,** I draw *milk* from the cow, **ghar saṅbháliye,** take care of the *property* in the house, **kacah'rí kí ájńyá hāī,** the *officer* in the court has ordered, **kuáń sákh gayá,** means '*water* in the well has dried up', **ḍálí** (basket), means gifts.

The contents may be used for the receptacle, as **goṅḍá** (< Skt. **govrnda,** herd of cattle), cowpen, pasture. **sabhá ko já rahá húń,** here **sabhá** is used for the building where the Sabha is held. **jaháj** (orig. merchandise), is ship.

4. vi(c). Place-Product.

The place may come to signify the product for which that place is known as **sirohí,** a sword originally manufactured at Sirohi in Rajputana, **kashmírá,** a woollen cloth first designed in Kashmir, **bidar,** a kind of metal-work first known in Bidar, **sáńcí,** a kind of betel, **kálí,** or **kálín** (a place in Armenia), rug, **salem'pur, pálam'pur,** a kind of chintz bed-cover, **kokh,** (womb, lap), off-spring, etc.

The product signifies the place in **pańc'vaṭí** (a collection of five banyan trees), a place near Násik.

4. vi(d). Author-Writings.

The name of writer is used for his writings, as **áp'ne kálídás paṛhá hāī,** have you read Kalidas? **tul'sí ūr súr meń dekho,** see in Tulsi and Surdas.

The writings, similarly, denote their author, as **rámáyaṇ kah'tí hāī,** Ramayana says, **vedoń kí ájńyá hāī,** it is the command of the Vedas.

4. vi(e). The sign and the signified.

The sign stands for the thing signified, as in **coṭí ūr ḍáṛhí ká mel na hogá, coṭí** stands for ladies and **ḍáṛhí** for gents. **lál'pag'ṛí** means a policeman, and **baṛe peṭ vále** means capitalists.

VI

Persons and animals are often nicknamed after characterist parts of their body or mind, as—

sarpa (that creeps), serpent
lambakarṇa, (long-eared), donkey
pakṣí, the winged being, bird
háthí, the animal with a hand, elephant.

Note how the following proper names have been formed—

sugrív (one with a beautiful neck);
hanumán (one with a prominent chin);
maháshay (one having high aspirations).

Objects are often named in the like manner, as—

páni, water (it is drunk)
koṭ, fort (it gives shelter)
gaṅgá, river, the Ganges, (it goes)
prthví, earth (it is flat)
grantha, book (it is bound)
golí, a pill (it is round)
etc., etc.

Nicknames may be derived from some favourite words of t speakers, as **moshá**, a Bengali, **ik'ṛe tik'ṛe**, Marathas, **bhayy** (**bhayyá log** in Bombay), U. P. men, **āilí gāilí**, Biharis, **khaṅk** Garhwalis, **háṅ hazúr**, a flatterer, **ḍáṅcí báhú**, a new comer winter sojourner from Bengal in Bihar and Eastern U. P. who fin everything "damned cheap".

In the Punjab **rásha** (Pashto 'come on') refers to a Pathan ar **háto** (hallo) to a Kashmiri.

Names are also given to living and non-living objects from the characteristic sounds.

Compare—

hud'hud, woodpecker
koko, crow (Punj. **káṅ**)
guṛ'guṛí, a huqqa
jhun'jhuná, a child's rattle
ghuṅgh'rú, bells.
khakhár, spittle
chachúṅdar, musk-rat
phaṛ'phaṛá, in Calcutta **ph** **phaṭiyá**, motor cy

For details see the section on "Onomatopoeias" in chapter II.

Sometimes the thing signified may denote the sign, as—

áṅkh már'ná, to signal, **yah hiraṇ hāī**, it is the picture of deer.

4. vii. Analogical Transference.

We have already seen in the last chapter how names of plan

animals, diseases, persons, implements, articles and parts of the body are transferred to similar objects. This kind of transference is quite common in Hindi.

Aristotle gives another explanation of transference of meaning by analogy. When A is to B, as C is to D, the name of A can be used to indicate D. Thus, the leader is to nation, as is the pillar to a building, so that we can say **vah ap'nī jāti kā stambha hai.** This is real metaphor.

More Examples—

pūnch (tail), title	**bhabhūt** (wealth), ashes
ghoṭ'nā (grind), repeat lesson	**chānh** (shade), shelter
pātra (pot), deserving person	**dvārā** (door), means
shagūphā (bud), a sensational event	**ānkh** (eye), judgment, knowledge, sense.

Words used to denote sexual and corporal experience may thus be transferred to the spiritual or intellectual field.

Examples—

lambī rāt, long night	**carvaṇ** (chewing), repeating
harā (green, fresh), happy	**pakānā** (to cook), to prepare
īshvar (lord), God	**vyathā,** (shivering), pain, suffering.
jagah (place), rank, service	

Also see sub-section 4. iv. on Abstractions.

Words denoting one sensation may be transferred to another.

Examples—

ac'nā, to rinse mouth with water, < Skt. **ācamati,** sips water from the hand, **dimāg nahīṅ cal'tā,** the brain does not move (work).

In **mailā ne yah bhāṣaṇ is dṛṣṭi se nahīṅ sunā,** the act of hearing has been applied to eyes or sight.

sun'nā, to listen, also means 'to understand'.

Compare also (pp. 36—38) onomatopoeias employed to make audible, so to say, sensations of feeling, seeing, etc.

Compare Beng. **dāṅt kan'kan karā,** to feel tooth-ache, **māthā ṭan'ṭan karā** for head-ache, **ṭak'ṭakiyā lāl,** bright red; etc.

4. viii. Allied Transference.

The meaning of a word may be transferred to any related ideas

or objects, as—

urdú, orig. 'camp', means 'language of the camp'.

sír, orig. 'plough', means 'the act of ploughing' and even 'the field ploughed'.

Compare Punj. **khúh** (< Skt. **kúpa**, well), well, the land irrigated by the well. More examples from Hindi—

akhárá, (orig. **akṣavāṭakaḥ**, 'pole fence') means 'place for wrestling'.

ḍánṛ, orig. 'punishment', means 'a stick'.

solá, orig. **sholá**, spongewood, its pithlike stems, means 'pith', and also 'hat' made of that pith.

sar'kár, orig. 'officer', means 'ruler', 'master', 'government', 'state'.

The name of one object, animal or part of the body may be transferred to an allied object, animal or part of the body. Compare—

Skt. **kāṣṭhā**, a measure of time, > H. **kaṭṭhá**, a measure of land, a corn measure of 10 lbs.

Skt. lex. **khaṭakkikā**, side-door, > H. **khiṛ'kí**, window.

Skt. **parashu**, axe, > **par'siyá**, sickle.

Skt. **ghargharī**, girdle of small bells worn by women, > H. **ghágh'rí**, Punj. **ghagh'rá**, woman's skirt.

Skt. **karcúra**, turmeric, > H. **kacúr**, curcuma zerumbet.

Skt. **markaṭa**, monkey, > H. **mak'ṛá**, spider, **mak'ṛí**, locust.

Skt. **cillaṭaḥ**, a sort of creeping animal, > H. **cillaṛ**, louse.

Skt. **paṣṭhavah**, four year old bull, H. **páṭhá**, Punj. **paṭṭhá**, young full-grown animal (esp. goat, deer, or elephant).

Skt. **ghuṣṭah**, **ghuṭah**, ankle, > H. **ghuṭ'má**, knee.

Skt. **gaṇḍa**, cheek, goitre, > H. **gáṇṛ**, anus.

Pkt. **pora**, joint, > H. **por**, space between two joints.

Skt. **jaṅghá**, leg from knee to ankle, > H. **jáṅgh**, thigh.

etc.. etc.

4. ix. Evolutionary Transference.

The name of an object may sometimes be equally applicable to its evolved form.

ghaṛí, orig. 'a little water jar', then, 'water-clock', now a watch,

a clock.

vaṅshí, a bamboo stick, now means 'a flute', which may be made of any wood or stuff.

shíshá, glass, also means a looking glass.

gilás, glass, now means 'a tumbler', which may be made even of some metal.

ṭín, tin, means also 'a canister' and we even say **lohe ká ṭín,** iron tin or can.

tár, wire, telegraph wire, a telegram, and we do say **tár fáram,** a telegram form.

dupaṭṭá, formerly of two widths, now it is all woven in one.

4. x. Grammatical Transference.

The use of a word as a different part of speech gives it a different meaning. The subject will be discussed at length in a later chapter. A few examples may be given here.

sacce sadá gháṭe meṅ rah'te hāiṅ ; burá vah jo buroṅ se vāir kare. Here the words **'sacce'**, true, **'bure'** bad, have been used as nouns, meaning 'truthful persons' and 'bad persons'.

sote **meṅ bol'tá rah'ta hāi ;** cal'tí **ká nám gáṛi hāi.** The verbs in roman types have been used here as nouns meaning 'sleep' and 'motion'.

vah ap'ná sir paṛhegá, yah kám jáne se pah'le kar'ná hogá. Here the noun **sir,** means 'not', an adverb. The adjective **pah'le,** first, here is a postposition and means 'before'.

háy háy mací hāi, váh váh huí hāi, interjections have been used as nouns.

Compare also **háṅ yah ṭhík hāi** and **un'ke háṅ já kar púcho. háṅ** = yes, and **háṅ** = **yaháṅ,** here, house.

The word **áge** in the following sentences has different meanings—

áge calo, ahead, **makán ke áge,** in front, **áge bhí áp ko kahá thá,** sometime back.

kit'ná = how much, in **kit'ná dúdh cáhiye** and **kit'ná** = how, in **kit'ná acchá hāi.**

Compare **sūr** in **sūr láo** (bring *more*), **tum sūr māiṅ** (you *and* I) and **koí sūr hogá** (it must be someone *else*).

5. PLURALITY OF CHANGES.
(i) RADIATION.
(ii) CONCATENATION.
(iii) COMPLEXITY OF CHANGES.

5. i. Radiation.

There are a few words that undergo a single transference of meaning. A large number of words, we have already noted (Chap. III), are polynymous. A word may be restricted in one sense, generalized in another and deteriorated in the third. It may undergo any varieties of change at different times. This process is called "Radiation." Radiation takes place when different secondary meanings develop directly and immediately from the central meaning. The meanings radiate from the primitive meaning like rays of the sun.

Suppose N, in the following diagram, to be the name of an object (padártha) P, and suppose *a* is the **artha** or some quality or other which is noticeable in P. The name N, which is given to P, will be transferred to other objects, A, B, C, D, E, F, etc., thanks to the same quality, which among others, each of these objects possesses.

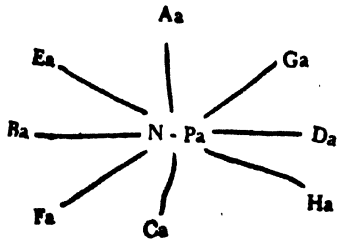
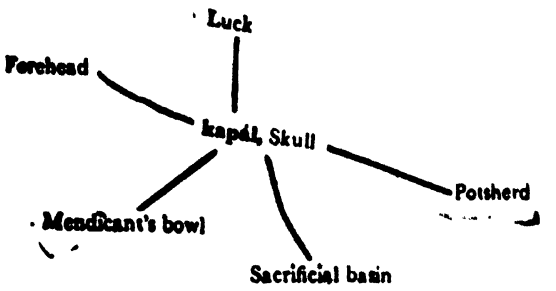


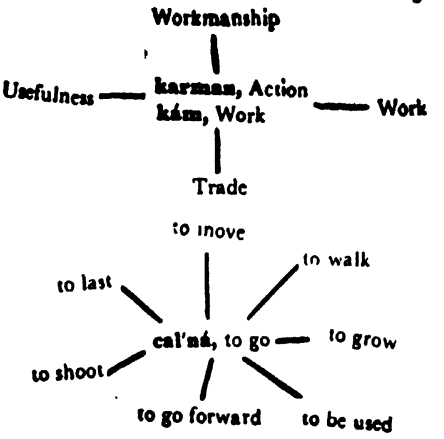
Figure 5.

The name **pakva,** ripe, passes to **pakká,** strong, cooked, gray (hair), because in each the quality is considered to be the same. **chat'rí,** umbrella, gives its name, in consequence of a likeness of form, to a comb, pigeons' perch, a fungus, etc. The word **nishán,** a mark, comes to mean 'an address', 'a musical band', 'banner' by the same process of Radiation.

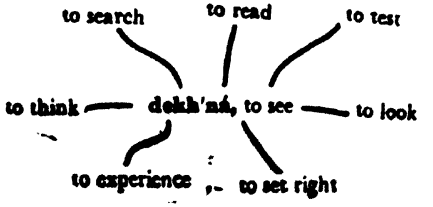
More examples—



Figures 6 and 7.



Figures 8 and 9.



Sometimes we imagine in an object P two, three or more qualities *a, b, c,* and thus the name N is transferred to several series of objects, one series having, in common with P, one quality *a*, the second series having another quality *b*, the third another quality *c*, and so on, as in the following diagram.

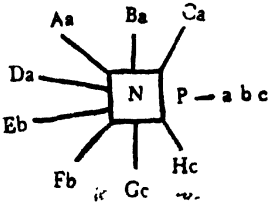


Figure 10.

For example, **áṅkh,** eye, in its physical form will be employed as **náriyal kí áṅkh, suí kí áṅkh.** Considered as an organ of vision it will be used in **áṅkh rakh'ná,** to watch, **áṅkh dṁṛáná,** to search, **áṅkh lag'ná,** to sleep. As the passage of love and shame, it will give rise to such expressions as **áṅkh bacáná,** to be ashamed, **áṅkh lag'ná,** to fall in love, etc.

púṅch, a tail, means 'a follower', 'an end', 'a title', in allusion to different aspects of the 'tail'.

5. ii. Concatenation.

Quite different is the next process that we have to study, in which a word moves gradually away from its first meaning by successive steps of alternate specialization and generalization and transference until, in many cases, there is not a shadow of connection between the sense that is finally developed and that which the term bore at the outset. In concatenation the primary meaning is forgotten in the second object. Then the name passes from the second object to the third by the aid of a new quality, which in its turn is forgotten, and so on. In the following diagram, the name N of the object P passes on to A by the aid of the quality *a* which is considered to be common between P and A. On account of its new quality *b* it passes on to the object B which also has *b* quality.

Consider the following scheme—

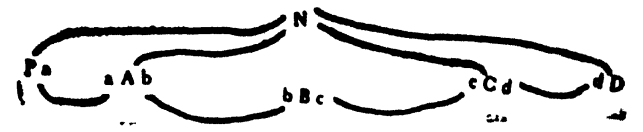


Figure 11.

Examples—

rúmál, a handkerchief. The first meaning is the object with which a man wipes his face (from Per. **rú**, face). Our modern customs have accidentally decided that the object should be a square piece of stuff, silk, cotton, cambric, etc. Hence through forgetfulness of the original idea, the word **rúmál** is applied to pieces of stuff of the same kind, although it may be used for any purposes, as in the phrase **sir par rúmál báńdho,** tie a handkerchief on your head. Even the quality or shape of the object is later forgotten and we employ the term **rúmálí** to a loin-cloth which is triangular.

The word **devar** has passed through a series of similar forgettings and changes. It originally meant 'second husband', then restricted to 'the dead husband's brother who became second husband', it is then generalized to mean 'husband's brother', and again restricted to 'husband's younger brother'.

ráj'pút meant 'king's son', then by generalization 'a member of the royal family', and then restricted to 'a member of a particular tribe' with the result that today every Rajput is not a king's son and, at the same time, the son of every Raja or king is not a Rajput.

mahábhárat does not mean 'Great India', but 'The Great War of Kurukshetra' (historical restriction), then it is generalized to mean any big fight, riot, or quarrel.

kuńvárá (< **kumárakah**, a little boy), a bachelor, is the result of generalization, restriction and again generalization.

Some words undergo various kinds of successive changes. The meaning of **rám kaháni**, the Ramayana, was first generalized to mean 'a romance' and then degraded to 'a useless long talk'. **shakun,** meaning first a bird, then a bird of omen, then an omen itself, and lastly a good omen, has passed through restriction, abstraction and amelioration. **aṅgúṭhí** (ring), < Skt. **aṅguṣṭhíya,**

concerning the thumb, is the result of concretion, restriction and then generalization.

5. iii. Complexity of changes.

It sometimes happens that radiation and concatenation are combined in the series of changes. A scheme such as the following may be given, which, after the foregoing explanations, will be found perfectly clear inspite of its apparent complexity.

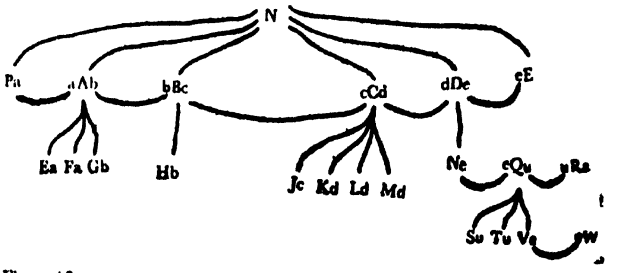


Figure 12.

The name N will thus pass, by successive branching in different directions, from the object P to all the objects A, B, C, D, E,..... T....V, W, etc. In this way we may come to a stage where the transferred meaning has lost all connection with the original signification.

Take, for example, **daṅḍ**. If we refer to the Hindi Shabda Ságara, we find the following meanings of the word—

(a) A stick, staff, or pole.
(b) Anything like a stick, as wooden sword.
(c) An exercise of a particular type.
(d) Salutation.
(e) Fine.
(f) Punishment of any kind. (f2.) loss.
(g) A kind of array.
(h) Control.
(i) Pole of a banner.
(j) Scale.
(k) Handle.

(l) Mast of a ship.
(m) Plough.
(n) A measure of two yards.
(o) Yama, who gives punishment.
(p) Viṣṇu, Shiva.
(q) Army. (q2.) horse.
(r) A duration of 24 minutes.
(s) A courtyard with rooms to the east and north.
(t) The same word in tbh. form '**ḍaṇḍā**', four walls.
(u) The tbh. '**ḍāṇṛ**', a weavers' instrument.
(v) Line.
(w) Backbone
(x) Boundary.
(y) Mound.
(z) Sandy bank of a river.

The tbh. '**ḍāṇṛā**', **ḍaṇḍī** and '**ḍāṇṛī**' have more meanings to add.

We will now class these meanings in the order of their semantic development, and see how by various complex processes the word has come to mean so many different objects. The polysemantic nature of a large number of words can be similarly explained. It would be a service, indeed, if any lexicographer could arrange the words in our Hindi dictionary in the order of their semantic development on the following lines.

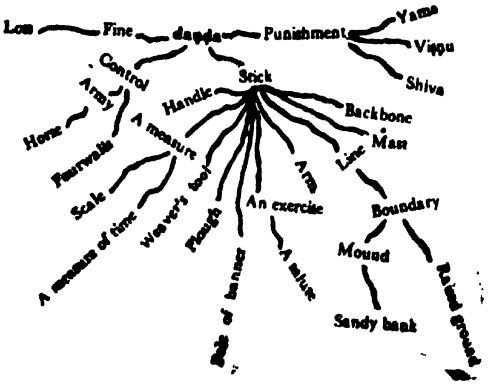


Figure 13.

VII

USAGE AND IDIOM

VII

USAGE AND IDIOM

1. GROWTH AND IMPORTANCE.
   - (i) Growth of idiotism.
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1. i. Growth of Idiotism.

At its early stage, a language is made up of words with simple and concrete meanings. It has been noted that whenever a word is taken in a particular language it has but one meaning, concrete and fixed. The words first have expressive power (Abhidhá Shakti). They attain suggestive or implied power as their usage develops. An idiom of a language is the result of this implied power (Vyañjaná Shakti) of words and consequent maturity of language which it achieves through economy, clearness and force.

The growth of idioms also depends on the culture of a people. Words acquire suggestive power and extension of meanings with the extension of the activities, experiences, associations and feelings of that people.

1. ii. Definition of an Idiom.

The Hindi word muhávʻrá, for idiom, means in Arabic a 'dialogue' or 'conversation', which is not quite significant. Nor is the Skt. vágdhárá. The word 'idiom' is technically appropriate. 'Idioma', in Greek, means 'peculiar phraseology', from 'idios' (peculiar to one's self). It denotes expressions that are characteristic of a particular language whereby it is distinguished from another language or family of languages.

1. iii. Idioms in Sanskrit.

Idioms in every country are national. It is wrong to suppose, as does Pt. Gaya Prasad Shukla, M.A. in his foreword to Pt. Dinkar Sharma's Hindi Dictionary of Idioms, that Greek, Latin and Sanskrit have been too literary, too grammatical, too artificial and too remote from the common people to contain idiomatic expressions. There is no doubt that popular literature, including fiction and drama, contains more idioms than learned literature. But idioms, in the purely literary writings, are not wanting. We are generally unable to recognise them, because their structure is quite different from that of the Hindi idioms. Sanskrit idiom is mainly prepositional. By prefixing various prepositions to roots, Sanskrit managed to form a large number of words with peculiar meanings.

Compare—

anukaraṇa, imitation, **pratikára,** remedy, **saṁskára,** refinement, **vikára,** change, **adhikára,** right, **upʻkára,** good, **apʻkára,** evil, **prakára,** method, **ákára,** shape, from √ **kr,** to do.

or, **anuyoga,** inquiry, **abhiyoga,** accusation, **upʻyoga,** use, service, **niyoga,** command, **viyoga,** separation, **udyoga,** effort, **prayoga,** employment, **pratiyoga,** opposition, **saṁyoga,** union, chance, etc. from √ **yuj,** to unite.

Also see section 2 on prefixes in Chapter II.

The reason that has led several critics to remark that Sanskrit lacks idiom* lies in the synthetic structure of classical Sanskrit, in

*Dinkar : *Introduction to* Hindi Muhávʻrá Kosh.

which analytical phrases are used very sparingly. Many an idiom lies embedded in the lengthy compounds of Sanskrit.

Compare—

devánám priyah (dear to the gods), a fool, **dhrtavastrah,** one who is wearing (lit. holding), clothes, **pańcaguh** (five...cows), something bought for five cows, **dhányártha** (grain-wealth), wealth obtained by means of grain, **kúpamaṇḍúks** (lit. a well-dwelling frog), one who knows nothing of the world outside the limits of his own village, **kaṭákṣa** (lit. a little glance), a sidelong look or a frown of displeasure, **dírghasútrí** (lit. one with a long rope), a dilatory person, **nirmama** (lit. without mine), one without love of worldly gains, **pratikashah** (for the whip), a disobedient servant.

Phrasal idioms are rarely available in Sanskrit. The following phrases have become idiomatic by the extension of the meaning of verbs. **kṣetram karoti** (ploughs), **padam karoti** (commands respect), **shabdam karoti** (sounds), **udakam karoti pitrbhyah** (gives offerings), **pitá náma karoti** (names), **bhasma karoti** (reduces to ashes), **mútra puríṣam karoti** (eases), **dárám karoti** (marries), **samayá karoti** (passes time), **nakhán karoti** (clips nails).

Also note the idiomatic use of √ **varṣa,** √ **pal,** √ **dhr,** and √ **avalamba** in **sharán varṣati,** showers arrows, **ájńyám pálayati,** obeys the order, **vastram dháryati,** wears clothes, **dhairyamavalambate,** takes courage, etc.

In Vedic Sanskrit the number of idiomatic phrases is quite large.

1. iv. NIA Idioms.

NIA idiom, on the other hand, is exclusively and profusely phrasal. We have noted in a previous chapter how grammatical forms of Sanskrit have become handy instruments by specialization, achieved through the analytical nature of NIA languages. The same analytical specialization is responsible for the rise and growth of phrasal idioms in modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Compare—

H. **kṣāṛí ko tańg honá** (lit. to be narrow for a shell), to be steeped in poverty.

kṣāvá uṛáṇí (lit. crow-flier), a woman set to menial service.

ṭhikáne lagáná (lit. to settle at the proper place), to establish,

to end well, to kill.

paṭ khol'nā (lit. to open the door), to take off a covering or veil.

cakkar khānā (to eat a circuit), to make a round.

dimāg khālī kar'nā (to empty the brain), to tax one's brain.

dabe pāṅv (with pressed feet), gently.

Punj. **jhag suṭ'ṇā** (to give out foam), to be enraged.

ṭhuṅgā mār'nā (to strike the thumb as in weighing), to weigh less.

ḍake ḍole khāṇā (to eat jerks and staggerings), to go astray.

trāh kaḍh deṇā (to turn out fear), to frighten.

vadh ke pair mār'ne (to strike steps increasingly), to show off.

Guj. **ghauṅ bhar'vā javuṅ** (lit. to go to bring wheat from a distance), to die.

gol cakkar levuṅ (lit. to take a circle), to sing and dance, to revolve.

gothuṅ khāvuṅ (lit. to eat a trick), to make a mistake.

1. v. Influences—a Case for Persian.

There is, of course, no lack of idioms in Sanskrit. But we are generally unable to recognize them because their nature is different from that of the Hindi idioms. The idioms of classical Sanskrit are of such a peculiar nature that they do not arrest the modern readers' attention, accustomed as they are to phrasal analytical idioms. Sanskrit is certainly rich in turns of expression peculiar in use and meaning to itself. It is difficult, in the absence of collections of phrasal idioms from Sanskrit, to say what various tendencies have been inherited by the modern Indian languages. So far as historical data permit us to believe, Hindi parallels from Sanskrit are not many. Compared with Hindi idioms, Sanskrit expressions seem to be direct, plain and unequivocal. On the other hand, there is strange agreement between the Hindi and the Persian idioms.

Compare—

Per. rū'e dīdan, **muṅh tāk'nā**, to expect favour.

Per. cashma-i-xūn ālūd, **āṅkhoṅmeṅ lahū utar'nā**, to be angry.

Per. cashma ba-rāh dāshtan, **āṅkheṅ rāh par lagāṇā**, to expect, to wait.

Per. cashma poshí namúdan, **áṅkh curáná,** to wink at, to avoid.

Per. do cashma cár shudan, **áṅkheṅ (de) cár honá,** to meet.

Per. cashma zadan, **áṅkh már'ná,** to blush, to sign.

Per. cashma namúdan, **áṅkh dikháná,** to rebuke.

Per. bar sar-o-cashma, **sir áṅkheṅ par,** respectfully.

Per. cashma dáshtan, **áṅkh rakh'ná,** to watch.

Per. ráh giriftan, **rásté pakaṛ'ná, ráh lená,** to proceed.

Per. ráh qata' kardan, **ráh káṭ'ná,** to travel.

Per. fareb xwurdan, **dhokhá kháná,** to be deceived.

Per. dáman dar rextan, **pag'ṛí uchál'ná,** to disgrace.

The number of such idioms is very large. The similarity in the phraseology, literal signification and metaphorical sense of Persian and Hindi idioms is strikingly remarkable.

Idiomatic usage is one of the elements which have made Persian such a sweet and flowery language. This usage was naturally adopted by the cultured and educated classes who wanted to say things beautifully, pithily and pointedly. Once the practice of expressing ideas in idioms had started it was easily extended. Persian was the language of the court, of the state and the society for a number of centuries. The influence of Persian on Hindi idioms cannot be denied. The nature of idioms in both these languages is exclusively phrasal. Quite a good number of Hindi idioms contain Persian words, which, it is now difficult, to replace.

The following thirty words, for example, occur in about 200 idioms in Hindi—

magaz, brain	**dimág,** brain	**panjá,** paw
dil, heart	**ján,** life	**rag,** vein
pah'lú, side	**bagal,** armpit	**zabán,** tongue
dam, life, breath	**gardan,** neck	**áváz,** voice
palak, eyelash	**zakham,** wound	**khún,** blood
kamar, waist	**akla,** brains	**mauj,** wave, joy
nishán, mark	**gul,** flower	**khayál,** idea
izzat, honour	**kissá,** story	**hál,** condition
tang, narrow	**tájá,** fresh	**mál,** property
ád'mí, man	**garam,** hot	**kalam,** pen, etc.

It is a remarkable fact that tatsama, scholarly and dialectical I.-A. words seldom occur in Hindi idioms.

Then, many Hindi idioms, it may be noted, are nothing but

translations from Persian. For example, take idioms containing the word **háth,** Per. dasta, hand.

dasta az ján shustan, **ján se háth dhoná,** to despair.
dasta-o-pá zadan, **háth páńv már'ná,** to strive.
ba-dasta áwurdan, **háth ánā,** to procure.
dasta uftádan, **háth lag'ná,** to find out.
dasta afsháńdan, **háth jhár'ná,** to abandon.
dasta bar dasta nishastan, **háth par háth rakh kar bāiṭh'ná,** to sit idle.
dasta bar dil nihádan, **dil par háth rakh'ná,** to have courage.
dasta pesh dáshtan, **háth pasár'ná,** to beg.
dasta dádan, **háth denā,** to assist.
dasta dáshtan, **háth rakh'ná,** to encourage.
dasta kashídan, **háth khíńc'ná,** to withdraw oneself.
dasta gazídan, **háth mal'ná,** to regret.
dast yáftan, **háth lag'ná,** to possess.

Translated adaptation of idioms from a cultivated language is very natural, too. The following translations and adaptations from English in modern times may be noted.

áhat garva, wounded vanity.
pṛṣṭhabhúmi, background.
pāiroń tale ghás na ug'ne denā, not to let grass grow under the feet.
nayá parat badal'ná, to turn over a new leaf.
ap'ná ḍhol bajáná, to blow one's own trumpet.
cal'te ghoṛe ko áṛ már'ná, to spur a willing horse.

It would be an interesting hobby to note such idioms in modern journals.

It may, however, be noted that whereas Persian idioms adopted in Hindi have been naturalized and assimilated, translations from English are still foreign, clumsy and out of place. It appears that idioms of phrasal type were already common in Hindi, and a few additions of agreeable nature from Persian were most welcome. Persian and Sanskrit are allied languages. Both are eastern Aryan languages and represent almost similar ideas, emotions and cultures. Persian thought found easy and congenial acceptation in India. Moreover, Urdu has always drawn upon Persian resources never feeling that they were foreign. There is no doubt that hundreds of our Hindi idioms go back to Persian.

1. vi. Incidence of Idioms in Hindi.

The number of idioms in Hindi is very large. Their natures, origins and types are varied. Their use has increased since the rise of prose literature which is written in popular language and for the general people. In poetry they are less used on account of its too much artificiality and profoundness. Similarly, scientific, technical, classical, philosophic and scholarly language is devoid of idioms for the same reasons. Babu Shyamsundar Das, or poet Pant, for example, needed no idioms. Idioms are the life and spirit of popular literature as produced by Prem Chand, Hariaudh, Guleri or Kaushik. It has, however, to be noted, though with regret, that the use of idioms in literary and urban language is fast declining. Hindi has started on its way to becoming a classical language. It is losing its contact with dialects and relying too much on Sanskrit which has given it depth, richness and elasticity. It has lent Hindi a variety of style, but has, certainly, deprived it of its unsophisticated simplicity, vividness, vigour and catholic appeal. Literary Hindi, like Sanskrit, is becoming a 'devabhāṣā' and gradually losing its character as a 'janabhāṣā'. The case of English may be compared. Idiomatic expressions abound in the daily speech of the English people as well as in the elaborate, serious and polished compositions of English writers. English has found for itself a better way of compromise between colloquialism and classicism. After all, idioms have a charm of their own. They are the vitamins—little sparks of life and energy—in our speech. They are popular ... and national, and made of durable and home-spun material. A Nation's history and character are undoubtedly mirrored in its idioms and proverbs, and it can be said with certainty, of some typical idioms, that they could only be the expression of thought or feeling of one particular nation. Some idioms may be translations or adaptations but all of them come from the people and are accepted by them. Semantically, they are extremely important. They have a vivid, picturesque and effective meaning. They prefer images to abstractions, terseness to grammar and energy to logic. They make a direct appeal to the sense, and they exhort. They are a sign of the youthful vigour and versatility of a language. It is the idiomatic part of Hindi which, of course, is semantically most amusing and enlightening.

VII

2. THE NATURE OF HINDI IDIOMS

(i) USAGES.

THE NATURE OF USAGES — USES OF COLLOCATIONS — USAGE IN COMPARISONS — COMPOUND VERBS — USAGE IN VERBS.

(ii) IDIOMS.

TRANSLATABILITY — ELLIPTICAL FORMATIONS — VERBAL IDIOMS — SUBSTANTIVAL IDIOMS — MORE THAN HALF-IDIOMS — FULL IDIOMS.

The term 'idiom' is used in two senses. First, it denotes the general structure of a language *vis-a-vis* its grammar and syntax, whereby it is distinguished from another language or family of languages and which give it a special character of its own.

Compare, for example—

H. **ālsá ján paṛ'tá hāl,** but Eng. 'It appears'.

H. **mujhe málúm hāl,** to me it is known, but Eng. 'I know'.

H. **strí-puruṣ,** woman and man, but Eng., 'man and wife'.

H. **uṭh bāiṭhá,** lit. stood sat, but Eng. 'got up'.

or H. **mujhe jáná hāl,** but Punj. **mālá ne jáṇá hāl,** and Eng. 'I have to go'.

H. **merí pustakeń,** but Punj. **meriyáń pustakáń,** my books.

H. **vah nahíń átá,** but Beng. **o ábe na.**

Secondly, the 'idiom' denotes those combinations of words or phrases which have a metaphorical, marginal or suggestive rather than literal or prosaic meaning. They do have some connection with their original literal sense, but they are now understood, mainly in their secondary meaning.

Example—

galí kamáná means 'to clean latrines', but the words **galí,** street, and **kamáná,** to earn, have their literal significance, too, as the latrines are generally found in streets and cleaning is the work (livelihood) of a scavenger. Moreover, cleaning of streets and latrines is done by the same persons. **gale báńdh'ná,** to thrust, does not imply that something is literally tied to the neck of a person.

It is important to note the difference between these two significations of 'idiom'. In one case, there is peculiarity of structure

and use, the meaning being understood practically literally, though it may sometimes be untranslatable into a foreign language. We propose to designate such expressions as 'usages' (H. **roj marrá**). In the other case, there is peculiarity of use as well as meaning. We shall restrict the term 'idiom' (H. **muhávʻrá**) to this class of phrases. Unfortunately, the terms 'usage' and 'idiom' are generally confused; as, for instance, Webster, the famous lexicographer, defines idiom as "an expression sanctioned by usage, having a sense peculiar to itself and not agreeing with the logical sense of its structural form", and usage as the "customary employment of a word or phrase in a particular sense."

Usage and idiom, as defined by us, are distinctive terms.

2. i. Usages.

THE NATURE OF USAGES. The word 'usage' relates to the customary employment of a word or phrase as established by master speakers and writers and as recognized by the nation.* We shall discuss at length the grammatical and syntactical usage in Hindi in the last two chapters. But it is not essential that a usage must conform to the principles of grammar and logic. Usages are, sometimes, arbitrary and it is impossible to give any law regarding their construction and order. No reason can be given why we say **rát ko** (at night) but **din meṅ** (in the day), **khoj kháj** (search, etc.) but **mej vej** (table, etc.) or Punj. **páṇí púṇí** (water, etc.); **bís tís** (between 20 and 30) but **sɔ̄ pacás** (between fifty and hundred), **ás pás** (all about) and **ālī gālī** (way, street, etc.), but not **pás ás** and **gālī ālī**; **dhan-dɔ̄lat,** (wealth and prosperity) but not **dɔ̄lat-dhan,** and **kapʻṛá-lattá** (clothes, etc.) but not **lattá-kapʻṛá.**

It may be said that in a majority of phrases, the most important or obtrusive element demands the first position, as in **svarga-narak** (heaven and hell), **roṭí-páṇí** (bread and water) and **kháṇ-péṇ** (eating and drinking), **bhái-bahan** (brother and sister).

Or, that what precedes in the natural order of things comes first, as in **jívan-maraṇ** (life and death), **ábál-vrddha** (old and young).

Or, that the ear prefers that the longer word should be put last,

*See *Sri Ramchandra Verma's* Acchí Hindí, *Benares.*

as in **dhan-daulat**, wealth, **pán-tamákhú**, betel and tobacco, or **mel-miláp**, sociability, etc.

Or, that there is a system in echo-words, etc., etc.

But the number of irregularities is quite sufficient to show that usage is arbitrary. It is a remarkable fact that the order is reversed in utter disregard of these rules of grammar and logic.

Compare with the above, **jal'váyu**, climate, **dál-bhát**, pulse and rice, **mar'ná-már'ná**, dying and killing, **bhúkhá-pyásá**, hungry and thirsty, etc.

Then there are phrases which must be used as compounds, and phrases which cannot form compounds.

Compare—

kal'muúhá, black face, ominous person, **diyásalái**, matches, **kám'cor**, shirker, **muúh'phaṭ**, outspoken, **man'mánā**, self-willed.

but **rel kí paṭ'ṛí**, rail road, **laṭṭhe ká thán**, a piece of long cloth, **rát ká khánā**, evening meal, etc.

Compare Punj. **sir'saṛyá**, a drudge, but **akhoń anhá**, blind by eyes.

The peculiar expressions telling time are interesting.

Compare—

rát ke das baje (lit. ten strokes of night), 10 p.m.

das baj'kar das minaṭ (lit. ten minutes after striking ten), 10:10.

pauṇ bajá hai (lit. it is three-quarter of a stroke), quarter to one.

sáṛhe tín baje hailá (lit. it is three and a half), half past three.

Their literal translation into any language would be absurd.

USES OF COLLOCATIONS. The semantic effects of certain phrasal collocations may be studied in the next chapters. Emphasis on totality or *et cetra* may be expressed sometimes by duplex phrases as **nám' dhám**, name, address, **már'pít**, beating, etc.; sometimes by repetitions as **dhaṛádhaṛ**, plentifully, **bíccá bíc**, through and through; sometimes by alliteration as in **bhíṛ bhárṛ**, crowd, etc. **ás'pás**, all about; sometimes by assonance or rhyme as in **roṭí voṭí**, bread, etc., **miṭhái síṭhái**, sweets, etc.; sometimes by the contact of two alternatives as **sukh-dukh**, joy and sorrow, etc., **svarga-narak**, heaven and hell; sometimes by synonymous words as **sevá-cushrúṣá**, service,

etc., **kám-káj,** work, etc. ; and sometimes by the collocation of related words as **dál-roṭí,** bread, etc., **rupayá paisá,** rupee, pice, etc.

USAGE IN COMPARISONS. A number of habitual comparisons are used to enhance the nature of the qualifier.

Compare—

nim kí tarah kaṛ'vá, bitter like *neem* (very bitter).
hiraṇ kí tarah caṅcal, fickle like a deer (very fickle).
samudra kí tarah gambhír, profound like the ocean (very profound).
shahad kí tarah míṭhá, sweet like honey (very sweet).
yakṣa kí bháṅti krpaṇ, miserly like Yakṣa.
shishu kí bháṅti saral, simple like a child.
sáṅp ke samán krúr, villainous like a snake.
svapna ke samán mithyá, false like a dream.
karṇa kí tarah dání, liberal like Karna, etc.

COMPOUND VERBS. The occurence and meanings of compound verbs is another peculiarity of the Hindi language, so much so that their translation into any other language is a problem.

Compare—

mārá ne khaná khá ḍálá showing a sense of haste, abruptness and completion.
mārá á gayá showing suddenness and definiteness.
vah á pahuṅcá showing effort and expectation.
calo baiṭho for 'go and sit', showing resolve.
lo suno invites first attention and then audience.

Also note the distinction between **ve bol uṭhe,** he spoke up, implying alertness, expectation and suddenness, and **ve bol paṛe,** he spoke up unexpectedly and abruptly.

USAGE IN VERBS. The use of particular forms of concrete verbs with particular nouns is notable.

Compare—

táná már'ná, to strike a taunt, but **gálí denā,** to give an abuse.
pul báṅdh'ná, to tie a bridge, but **saṛak banáná,** to make a road.
nakal már'ná, to beat copy, but **hańsí uṛáná,** to fly a joke.

cakkar már'ná, to beat a round, but **gherá ḍál'ná,** to put a siege.

Compare H. **ve mere cácá hote hāin,** and Punj. **oh merá cácá lag'dá hāi,** he is my uncle.

For the peculiar uses of other parts of speech, see the following chapter on Sematology of Grammar.

2. ii. Idioms.

The field of idioms in Hindi is altogether unexplored. A semantic evaluation of idioms would be very useful. The most important caution is needed against the confusion of idiom with usage. Thus **idhar ká udhar honá,** to go from this side to that, **ijjat kar'ná,** to respect, **árám meń honá,** to be in rest, **koí na koí,** someone or the other, **kímat ṭhah'ráná,** to fix price, **kahíń aur,** somewhere else, **ochá honá,** to be mean, and a host of other phrases which have no peculiarity of sense are usages rather than idioms. A foreigner, or an Indian with a foreign trend of thinking, might find by-meanings in them. But they have a literal meaning for the speakers. They have been erroneously included by Sarhindi in his Dictionary of Hindi Idioms.

TRANSLATABILITY. It is important to note that words composing an idiom do not separately imply that meaning. **míṭhí** means 'sweet', and **churí** means 'knife.' **ṭeṛhí** means 'crooked', and **khír,** boiled rice. When associated, they imply a new meaning, **míṭhí churí** being 'a cheat', and **ṭeṛhí khír,** a difficult matter. In fact every word that changes meaning passes into an idiom.

Some idioms are universal and easily translatable, as **ág par tel ḍál'ná,** to pour oil on fire, i.e. to add to excitement.

khún ká pyásá, blood-thirsty, i. e. ready to take life.

kutte kí mauṭ mar'ná, to die dog's death, i. e. uncared for.

sir lená, lit, to take head, to behead, to kill.

taṅg hál, narrow circumstances, poverty.

Some do not give clear explanation. A large majority of our idioms are such that it is difficult to translate them literally. If we attempt to do so, they have a different signification, or are often obscure or meaningless or absurd, as the following—

sát páṅc kar'ná (lit. to do seven-five), to be in doubt.
sídh báṅdh'ná (lit. to limit straightness), to aim at.
ul'ṭí málá pher'ná (lit. to move beads wrong side), to wish evil.
sir kháná (lit. to eat head), to make noise, to tease.
havá lag'ná (lit. to have air), to be affected; etc., etc.

ELLIPTICAL FORMATIONS. A large number of idioms are simply elliptical expressions. They suggest what is unexpressed. The meaning becomes clear when the word understood is supplied. Thus—

dúr kí kah'ná (lit. to talk of a distance), refers to talk.
din paṛ'ná (befalling of a...day), i.e. the foul day.
din púre honá (completion of...days), i.e. the period of pregnancy.
din áná (coming of the...day), i.e. the last day.
jí meṅ rah'ná (to keep in mind), i.e. to intend.
jí kí nikál'ná (to turn out...of the heart), i.e. emotion.
ján par á ban'ná (befalling...on life), i.e. misery.
gat honá (coming of...fate), i.e. the last fate (death).
kyá paṛí hāi (what...is there), i.e. need.
ap'ní ap'ní paṛ'ná (to be in one's own...), i.e. care.
in'kí camak'tí hāi (his...shines), i.e. fame.
cuṭ'kí máṅg'ná (to beg handful...), i.e. alms.

Similarly shoe-beating is implied in **tol tol ke paṛ'ná**, (to get...in balance), time in **gáṛhe ká sáthí**, (companion in hard...), method in **ek bhí na cal'ná**, (not even one...is effective), pity in **jí bhar áná**, (filling...in heart), resolve in **ṭhan ján'á**, (fixing...), abuses in **gin gin kar sunáná**, (to give...in succession); etc. Thus the words by themselves have no semantic change. But as they imply an extra meaning, their idiomatic nature is unquestionable. In fact, all metaphor is elliptical.

VERBAL IDIOMS. Then there are idioms in which the verb alone implies a metaphorical meaning without affecting the substantive. The majority of Hindi idioms are of this nature. Note that **káṭ'ná** (to cut) in **din káṭ'ná**, to pass the day and **kāid káṭ'ná** (to complete imprisonment); **báṅdh'ná** (to bind) in **pul báṅdh'ná** (to build a bridge) and **ás báṅdh'ná** (to entertain hope); **uṛáná**, to fly, in **dhúp uṛáná**, to bask the sun, **dhan uṛáná**, to spend money, **khabar**

uṛáná (to start a rumour); and **kháná**, to eat, in **ghín kháná**, (to hate) and **ṭakkar kháná**, to collide, have distinctive meanings.

Compare Punj. **daliddar kaṭ'ṇá**, to end a misery, **dá kháṇá**, to be deceived.

SUBSTANTIVAL IDIOMS. Then there are idioms in which the substantive is transferred in meaning, without a change in the meanings of the verb.

Examples—

andherá (darkness), grief, in **andherá cháná**.
cháṅh (shade), protection, in **cháṅh meṅ honá**.
gin'tí (counting), importance, in **gin'tí meṅ honá**.
ág (fire), strife, in **ág uṭháná**.
ghaṭ (a water jar), heart, in **ghaṭ meṅ bas'ná**.
kissá (story), dispute, in **kissá khatam karo**.

MORE THAN HALF-IDIOMS. Idioms consisting of an adjective and a noun may have one or the other used to denote a secondary meaning.

Examples of adjectives alone with changed signification—

andhí sar'kár, unjust (blind) government.
uṭh'tí javáni, blooming (rising) youth.
ṭaká sá javáb, refusal (copper-coin-like) in reply.
kháli din, unoccupied (empty) day.
ṭhaṇḍí már, invisible (cold) hurt.
taṅg hál, wretched (narrow) condition.
gah'rí niṅd, sound (deep) sleep.
tir'chí bát, uncandid (crooked) view.

Examples of nouns alone changing meaning—

rám (Rama), person, in **akele rám**, lonely person, **khál** (skin condition, in **ap'ní khál meṅ masta**, satisfied with one's own lot.

FULL IDIOMS. Examples of the whole group (adjective with noun) used metaphorically are given below—

ṭeṛhí khír (crooked rice pudding), hard task.
ḍhái din ki hukúmat, govt. for 2.1/2 days, temporary pleasure
ṭhaṇḍí gar'mí (cold heat), showy friendship.
khushám'dí ṭaṭṭú (flattering pony), a flatterer.
rúí ká gálá (a ball of cotton), white.

cik'ná ghaṛá (greasy jar), a shameless person.
háth ká khilaunā (hand's toy), a favourite person.
andhe kí lak'ṛí (blind man's staff), support.
mom kí nák (waxen nose), ficleminded.
dhobí ká kuttá (a washerman's dog), vagabond; etc., etc.

The number of idioms of the last type are quite common. Pt. B. S. Dinkar Sharma, whose compilation of idioms is yet considered to be the best*, refuses to take such expressions among idioms, as he says, they have no verb. He simply calls them idiomatic phrases. Similarly when verbs alone imply a suggestive meaning, they are called idiomatic verbs and he says that they are not idioms in the true sense of the word.† This is ridiculous. Idiomatic phrases and idiomatic verbs are only forms of idioms. They may not be 'whole idioms', but their idiomatic nature is undoubted.

Again, idioms in which all the words including the verbs change meanings are not many. As illustrated above, an idiomatic phrase may have ten percent, twenty five percent, fifty percent, seventy five percent or a hundred percent metaphorical meaning, according as one, two, three, or all words of the phrase develop an unusual meaning and according as that meaning travels further in the field of suggestion. An evaluation of idioms on semantic considerations would be useful.

3. BASES OF IDIOMS.

(i) THE HUMAN BODY.
THE EYE — THE HEART — THE NOSE — THE EAR — THE ARM — THE HAND — THE MOUTH — THE FACE — THE BELLY — THE HEAD, ETC.

(ii) IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS.
NATIONAL DRESS — THE DIET — PROFESSIONS — MILITARY LIFE — THE FAIR SEX.

(iii) ORGANIC LIFE.

(iv) INORGANIC LIFE.

(v) HABITS, CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

(vi) HISTORY, MYTH AND TRADITION.

* *A Dictionary of Idioms, by Dr. Bhola Nath Tiwari, is a very recent publication.*

† Hindí Muhávr'á kosh, paricay.

3. i. The Human Body.

The earliest language is somatic, as it issues from, so it centres about the body. It is not only concrete, it is physical, egocentric and even, it may be said, soma-centric. That is, it uses the self, the body, as the central point of reference. A very large number of our idioms are somatic in origin. Some remind us of gesture language.

The following may be semantically compared with examples given under Metonymy [VI. 4. vi (a and b)].

sir hiláná (to shake head), to refuse.

áṅkh caṛháná, áṅkh dikháná (to raise or show eyes), to be angry.

áṅkh már'ná (to beat or wink eyes), to make a sign.

háth mal'ná (to rub hands), to repent.

dáṅtoṅ tale uṅg'lí dabáná (to press a finger under teeth), to be astonished.

muṅh pher lená (to turn face), to dislike.

muṅh banda kar'ná (to shut the mouth), to be silent.

háth báṅdh'ná (to bind or fold hands), to request.

kánoṅ par háth rakh'ná (to put hands on ears), to be surprised.

háth par háth már'ná (to strike another's hand with one's hand), to promise.

háth phaillána (to stretch hands), to beg.

aṅgúṭhá dikháná (to show the thumb), to refuse.

chátí ṭhoṅk'ná (to pat the breast), to venture.

muṅh ṭeṛhá kar'ná (to distort the face), to be displeased.

THE EYE. Generally the names of the parts of our body represent the action for which they are capable or the attributes which they are imagined to possess. The idioms reveal the conceptions of our ancestors regarding the various parts of our body. For example, the eye is considered to be the seat of personal shame and respect. Compare **áṅkh nící honá**, lowering of the eye, to feel a sense of shame, **áṅkh na uṭháná**, not to raise the eye, to feel ashamed, **áṅkhoṅ par baiṭháná**, to seat on eyes=to respect. It is the inlet for love. Compare **áṅkh laṛ'ná**, fighting of eyes=falling in love, **áṅkh lagáná**, to set eyes on=to love, **áṅkhoṅ kí ráh dil meṅ**, through the eyes into the heart=feeling love in the heart. It is an instrument

of attention. Compare **ánkh cúk'ná,** miss the eyes = to lose attention, **ánkh band kar'ná,** to close eyes=to remain inattentive. It is the outlet for anger, wish or any other emotion. Compare **ánkh caṛháná,** to raise eyes=to be angry, **ánkh dikháná,** to show eyes=to frighten, **ánkh dekh'ná,** to see eyes=to await orders. It attracts (**ánkhoń meń mohiní honá,** mesmerism in eyes, **ánkh miláná,** meeting of eyes=attracting one another). It sees (**ánkh uṭháná,** to raise eye, to see, **ánkh ḍál'ná,** to put in eyes, to look at, **ánkh phúṭ'ná,** to be blind), and it sees through for knowledge (**ánkhoń ká par'dá haṭáná,** to find insight or knowledge, **ánkh khol'ná,** to open the eye, to impart knowledge). It is the abode of sleep (compare **ánkh caṛháná,** raising of eyes, to be drowsy, **ánkh khol'ná,** opening of eyes, to wake), etc., etc.

THE HEART. **dil,** heart, is the organ of feeling. It is the seat of love and affection, hatred, joy, sorrow, courage, secret and in fact all life.

Compare—

dil dukháná, to hurt feelings	**dil lagáná,** to be attached to, to fall in love
dil phir'ná, to be disgusted	**dil áná,** to fall in love
dil bah'láná, to amuse	**dil meń samáná,** to like
dil meń rakh'ná, to keep secret	**dil rakh'ná,** to console, to please
dil toṛ'ná, to disappoint	**dil hí dil meń,** secretly, in mind.

It is the heart, the mind and the brain—all in one.

Compare—

dil meń bas'ná, to live in the heart, to be liked.
dil meń phir'ná, to move in the mind, to think.
dil se utár'ná, to forget.
dil se, whole-heartedly.
dil meń, in mind.

It is remarkable that **chátí,** chest, **dil,** heart, and **kaleją,** liver, sometimes, represent similar ideas. This further shows the simplicity of the common people who do not bother much about the physiology of human body. **dil chal'ní honá, chátí chal'ní honá, kaleją chal'ní honá,** have the same meaning i.e., to suffer heavy shocks. **chátí par (dil par or kaleje par) sáṅp loṭ'ná,** to

feel jealous, to be distressed at another's success, **chátí (kalejá** or **dil) phaṭ'ná,** to be disturbed with grief or jealousy, **chátí (kalejá** or **dil) dharak'ná,** to be frightened, **chátí (kalejá** or **dil) patthar kar'ná,** to have patience, may also be noted.

jí or **dil** is conceived as a living organ having various feelings and activities. It moves, comes in, goes out, runs, and runs fast, it may wander about, but it can be arrested. It grows, throbs, jumps and becomes ambitious. It has its likings and dislikings. It feels pain and sickness. Sometimes it behaves like a child and like a lovely babe as it is a plaything itself. Like a flower it may bloom or wither. Like a fruit, it may be sour or tasteless, raw or ripe. Like glass it may be soiled, cleaned, broken and never repaired. Like a house, it can accommodate persons and things. It is a valuable property as the resort of love. It can be set on fire, it gives out smoke and it may be reduced to ashes. It can be occupied by some one else, stolen or robbed, given up or shared with some one. It may be filled in or emptied like a vessel.

THE NOSE. nák, the nose, as the most prominent part of the face, stands for respect in the society.

Compare—

nák úṅcí honá (to have a higher nose), to have more social appreciation.

nák kaṭ'ná (cutting of the nose), to lose respect and status.

nák rakh'ná (to keep the nose), to preserve one's honour.

It is used especially to express hatred or disapproval.

Compare—

nák caṛháná (to raise the nose), to show hatred.

nák sikoṛ'ná (to squeeze the nose), to dislike.

nák phaṭ'ne lag'ná (bursting of the nose), to feel stinking smell.

nák par gussá rah'ná (to have anger on the nose), to be readily angry.

An animal's nose is also used to control it. Hence we have **nák meṅ sut'lí pirónā** (to string the nose), **nák meṅ tír ḍál'ná** (to put an arrow in the nose), to guide, to control.

THE EAR. The faculty of hearing and attention belongs to the ear. **kán ká kacá** (with immature ear), credulous; **kán dhar'ná**

(to put ears), or **kán dená** (to give ears), to listen; **kán khol kar sun'ná** (to listen with open ears), to be attentive; **kán meṅ tel** or **rúi ḍál baiṭh'ná** (to sit with oil or cotton in ears), to be inattentive or negligent; **kán meṅ uṅg'lí dená** (to put finger in the ears), to be deaf to what is said; and many other idioms refer to this signification. Animals use their ears to give warning and we have **kán khaṛe honá** (raising of ears), to be alarmed; **cumkannā honá** (to have four ears), to be very alert; **kán na hiláná** (not to move ears), to remain heedless; **kán púnch phaṭ'kár'ná** (to thrash ears and tail), to give warning; etc.

THE ARM. The arm is used for protection and support. Compare—

báṅh pakaṛ'ná (to hold the arm), to support.
báṅh baṛháná (to extend the arm), to come to help.
báṅh dená (to give an arm), to help.
báṅh ṭúṭ'ná (breaking of the arm), to be without helpers or friends.

THE HAND. The hand is used to give and take, to hold and to do various deeds. Giving and taking is implied in—

háth khol'ná (to open hands), to spend.
háth ták'ná (to look at others' hands), to depend on others.
háth dho baiṭh'ná (to wash off hands), to lose.
háth báṅdh'ná (to bind or fold hands), to beg.
háth áná (to come into hands), to procure.
háth sameṭ'ná (to withdraw hands), to stop giving money, etc.

The activity of the hand is referred to in—

háth khiṅc'ná (to pull in the hands), to remain aloof.
háth par háth dhare baiṭh'ná (to sit with one hand on the other), to sit idle.
háth baiṭháná (to settle hands), to practise.
háth páṅv hiláná (to move hands and feet), to work hard.

THE MOUTH. muṅh, the mouth, represents speech in a large number of idioms, as—

muṅh khol'ná (to open the mouth), to speak.
muṅh ká kaṛá (hard-mouthed), outspoken.
muṅh thak'ná (tiring of the mouth), to talk much.

muṅh pakaṛ'nā (to catch the mouth), to gag.
muṅh par lānā (to bring on to the mouth), to be about to speak.
muṅh se lāl jharṛ'nā (showering of diamonds from the mouth), to utter pleasing words.

Compare Punj. **muṅh nāl muṅh joṛ'nā** (to join mouth with another's month), to talk in whispers.

It is used to eat food, as referred to in the meanings of—
muṅh ḍāl'nā (to put the mouth, as an animal does), to eat.
muṅh calānā (to use the mouth), to chew the cud, to eat.
muṅh mār'nā (to strike the mouth), to feed oneself.

Compare Punj. **muṅh jūṭhā kar'nā**, to eat something, **muṅh suk'ṇā**, to feel thirsty.
H. **muṅh míṭhā kar'nā** (to sweeten the mouth), to give a bribe, to eat sweets.
muṅh bhar ānā (to have a filling sensation in the mouth), to feel greedy.

THE FACE. **muṅh**, the face, is the index of feelings, as—
muṅh utar'nā (falling down of the face), to feel ashamed.
muṅh par basanta phūl'nā (spring flowering on the face), to be confounded or pale.
muṅh pher'nā (to turn the face), to abstain from.
muṅh dekh'nā (to see the face), to expect, to be astonished.
muṅh phulānā (to have the face swollen), (Punj. **muṅh vaṭ'ṇā**, to twist the face), to frown.

It also represents honour, as in—
muṅh uj'lā honā (to have a clean face), to come off with honours.
muṅh kālā kar'nā (to blacken the face), to disgrace.
muṅh ki khānā (to be beaten on the face), to be defeated.
muṅh par thūk'nā (to spit on the face), to defame.

THE BELLY. **peṭ**, the belly, represents livelihood, as in—
peṭ kā dhandhā (the work for the belly), employment.
peṭ kāṭ'nā (to cut the belly), to live wretchedly.
peṭ kā kuttā (dog of the belly), a drudge.

peṭ, the stomach, refers to hunger and thirst, as in—
peṭ kī āg (fire of the stomach), hunger.

peṭ jal'ná (burning of the stomach), to be very hungry.
peṭ bhar'ná (to fill in the stomach), to eat fully.
peṭ meń ḍál'ná (to put into the stomach), to eat or drink.
peṭ bańdh'ná (binding the stomach), to eat less than one's appetite.
peṭ baṛháná (to grow the stomach), to eat voraciously.

It is understood as womb and seat of progeny in—

peṭ kí coṭṭí (thief of the womb), a woman whose pregnancy cannot be easily known to others.
peṭ gir'ná (falling of the womb), to miscarry.
peṭ rah'ná (to have womb), to be pregnant.

It stores even ideas and we say **peṭ ká hal'ká** (light-bellied), one who cannot keep secrets, **peṭ kí bát**, a secret, **peṭ meń rakh'ná** (to keep in the belly), to keep secret.

THE HEAD. **sir** is the head, meaning skull as well as the whole part of the body above the neck. Compare **sir utár'ná, sir káṭ'ná,** to behead, to kill. It is also the brain, as in **sir kháná,** (lit. to eat the head), to harass, **sir khapáná** (lit. to consume the head), to tax the brain.

It is used to show respect and obedience to others.

Compare—

sir caṛháná (lit. to raise one on the head), to exalt.
sir toṛ'ná (to break another's head), to subdue.
sir uṭháná (to raise the head), to revolt, to disobey.
sir niváná (to bend the head), to be humble.
sir áńkhoń par honá (to be on the head and eyes), to be respected.

As the foremost part of the body, it is expected to endure all troubles and sorrows.

Compare—

sir par paṛ'ná (to fall on the head), to befall.
sir ukh'lí meń dená (to put the head in a mortar), to be in trouble.
sir se páni guzar'ná (crossing of water over the head), to bear no longer.
sir par áná (to come on the head), befalling of calamity.
sir ká bojhá (burden of the head), responsibility.

etc., etc.

The idioms on other important parts of the body or similarly conceived. We shall have occasions to refer to them again in the next sections.

3. ii. Immediate Surroundings.

The idioms in Hindi represent the whole life of our common folk, who interpreted their ideas in concrete terms. Their experiences in the home, in the shop, in the field and in the narrow world which was theirs, are fully recorded in these memorials of their rustic, simple and unsophisticated life. It is a remarkable fact that modern life does not so much contribute to the formation of our idioms.

NATIONAL DRESS. It is the simple dress consisting of **colí** (jacket), **dhotí,** (loin cloth), **colá** (shirt), **pag'ṛí** (turban), **kap'ṛá** (cloth), **jútá** (shoe), **jámá** (garment), **cádar** (sheet) which represents various ideas.

Compare—

ap'ní cádar meṅ (in one's own sheet), within one's means.
colí dáman ká sáth (companionship of jacket and scarf), close relationship.
dhotí ḍhílí honá (loosening of the loin cloth), to be afraid.
kap'ṛoṅ meṅ honá (to be in clothes), to menstruate.
jáme na samáná (not to be contained in one's garment), to be overjoyed.
colá badal'ná (to change the shirt), to transmigrate.
pag'ṛí saṁbhál'ná (to recover the turban), to revive honour.
júte khánáá (to eat shoes), to be beaten.
colá choṛ'ná (to give up the shirt), to die.

THE DIET. The simple diet consisting of **ghí,** butter, **dál,** pulses, **áṭá,** flour, **roṭí,** bread, **dúdh** (milk), **khic'ṛí** (cooked rice), **khír** (milk and rice), **miṭhái** (sweets), and **laḍḍú** (a sweetmeat), **namak** (salt), have inspired a number of ideas, as in—

áṭe dál ká bháv (the rate of flour and pulse), experience.
áṭá ḍhílá honá (loosening of flour), to get into trouble.
ghí ká kuppá luṛh'káná (to upset a jar of ghee), to be ruined.

gup cup kí miṭhái (silent sweetmeat), indescribable thing.
ṭeṛhí khír (crooked milk rice pudding), hard task.
búr ke laḍḍú (sweetmeat of saw-dust), ostentation.
páńcoń uńg'liyáń ghí meń (all the five fingers in butter), good days.
dúdh ká sá ubál (boiling like milk), temporary excitement.
caṭ'ní kar'ná (to make sauce), to crush.
cup'ṛí mr do do (two breads and those, too, greased), over-indulgence.
guṛ gobar kar dená (turn sugar into dung), spoil the work.
namak mirca miláná (to mix salt and pepper), to exaggerate.

PROFESSIONS. The native village professions are responsible for a number of concepts related to them in some idioms. Compare—

kolhú ká bail (the bull on the oil-press), a drudge.
ḍáṛí már'ná (to strike at the balance bar), to weigh less.
gali kamáná (to earn the street), to clean latrines.
kulhiyoń meń guṛ phoṛ'ná (to break sugar balls in the earthen vessel), to work stealthily.

The following idioms, for example, are derived from agriculture and the field.

ek láṭhi se háńk'ná, to treat alike (lit. to drive with one stick).
khet kamáná (lit. to earn at the field), to till. Compare the sweeper's **gali kamáná,** to clean latrines.
hatheli par sar'soń (lit. mustard on the palm of the hand), clear proof.
kuáń jháńk'ná (to peep into the well), to be perplexed. Compare—
Punj. **ukh'li chaṛ'ná** (to beat the mortar), to beat hard, **un láh'vaṇá** (to shear wool), to cheat, i.e. to deprive the man (sheep) of his money (wool), **aláṇi sil caṭ'ṇi** (to lick a slab without salt), to do a useless job.

MILITARY LIFE. The Indians have always been famous for their valour and warlike pursuits, which gave them a number of idioms, such as—

maĩdán már'ná (to beat the field), to win.
khet rah'ná (to remain in the field), to die in battlefield.
rap carh'ná (to go up the field), to start for fighting.
hallá bol'ná (to shout a raid), to attack.
ranjak cát'ná (to lick the powder), to get fused.
golá ugal'ná (to turn out shells), to throw bombs.
tal'vár ke ghát utár'ná (to bring down on the platform of sword), to kill.
tal'váron kí chánh men (in the shade of swords), in the battlefield.
cillá carhána (to raise the string), to throw an arrow.
kám ána (to be used), to be killed.

etc., etc.

THE FAIR SEX. It has been accepted that ladies have played a great part in the formation of our idiomatic language. In fact, idioms and proverbs are a special feature of women's style.
Compare—

cúlhá thapdá honá (cooling of the stove), to be poor.
jal'tí ág men páni dál'ná (to pour water over burning fire), to appease.
jhárú pher'ná (to use the broom), to ruin.
chán dál'ná (to sieve), to search hard.
chal'ní kar dál'ná (to make like a sieve), to tear.
kap'ron men honá (to be in clothes), to menstruate.
ágá bhárí honá (to have the front heavy), to be with young.
cutiyá háth men honá (to have the lock of hair in hand), to control.
roti kí khák jhár'ná (to duster the bread), to flatter.

3. iii. Organic Life.

The observations of our village folk about the nature of animals, birds, trees, vegetables and fruits are contained in quite a large number of idioms. They show close communion between man and animal life. The habits of the animals and birds have been analogically applied to men for special effects.

Compare the following idioms from animal-life—

dum dabá kar bhág'ná (to run with the tail pressed in), to run away beaten.

bandar bhab'kí (shouts of a monkey), mere threat.

bag'ṭaṭ honá (to have the reins broken), to be uncontrolled.

zabán ko lagám denā (to bridle the tongue), to control the tongue.

kán khaṛe kar'ná (to raise ears), to be alert, alarmed.

dum hiláná (to move the tail), to flatter.

kán púńch phaṭ'kár'ná (to shake up ears and tail), to be cautious.

úṇṭ ká sui kí nák se jáná (passing of the camel through the eye of a needle), to be impossible.

bheṛ cál (the way of the sheep), blind following.

cmk'ṛí bhúl'ná (to forget the bounce or jump), to be at a fix.

ṭaṭṭú pár honá (crossing over by the pony), to have the work done.

síng samáná (to push the horns in), to find shelter.

The following idioms contain lessons from birds—

ullú ká paṭṭhá (the young of an owl), an idiot.

ullú phańsáná (to ensnare an owl), to beguile.

tote kí si áńkheń pher lená (to turn away eyes like a parrot), to be faithless.

háth ke tote uṛ'ná (flying away of the parrots of the hand), to be perplexed.

do do cońceń honá (to come to two beaks), to squabble.

makkhiyáń már'ná (to kill flies), to be idle.

úṛ'tí ciṛiyá pakaṛ'ná (to catch the flying bird), to rely on uncertainty.

cyúńṭi ke par nikal'ná (coming of wings on an ant), to be near death.

puráná caṇḍúl (the old bird), experienced.

It has been seen that these idioms relate generally to domestic animals and birds with the habits of which the people are quite familiar. Names of other animals and birds also occur but such idioms signify nothing very particular or intimate about those animals and birds. On the other hand, they have a bearing on human life in relation to wild life.

sher ke kán kutar'ná (to cut the ears of a lion), to do the impossible.

gídaṛ bol'ná (barking of a jackal), to be desolate (a superstiton).

The application of lessons from vegetable life may be noted in the following—

khajúrí coṭí (the tuft of a palm tree), single.

turaí ke phúl sá (like the flower of Tori vegetable), short-lived.

sákhe dhánoá páni paṛ'ná (watering the drying rice field), to change for a better condition.

gúlar ká peṭ khol'ná (to open the stomach of a Gúlar fruit), to disclose a secret.

ḍhák ke tín pát (like the only three leaves of a Dhák tree), poor.

3. iv. Inorganic life.

The idioms containing observations on inorganic life, though not many, are quite numerous. The characteristics of air have been recorded in—

havá ho jáná (to become wind), to run fast, to disappear.

havá ká raág dekh'ná (to see the way of the wind), to seek opportunity (as the farmer does at the threshing field.)

havá meá gáṇṭh báńdh'ná (to tie a knot in the air), to attempt the impossible.

havá lag'ná (to be touched by air or climate), to be affected.

Fire has more activities than air and these have been represented in the following idioms. It denotes strife, which has the same effect as fire. It refers to anger which is the fire of our emotions. Compare—

ág páni ká vā̃lr (the enmity between fire and water), natural enmity.

ág paṛ'ná (falling of fire on), to be dear in price.

ág homá (to become fire), to be angry.

ág bar'sáná (to shower fire), to be very hot.

ág uṭháná (to pick up fire), to create disturbance.

ág boná (to sow fire), to create trouble.

ág meá ghí paṛ'ná (pouring of ghee or oil in fire), to be excited.

ág lag'ná (to be set on fire), to take ill, to get excited.
ág bhabhúká honá (to be a blaze of fire), to be red with anger.
ág ká put'lá (an idol of fire), angry person.
ág tal've se nikal'ná (coming out of fire from the sole of the feet), to be very angry.

In old times it was a precious thing and was not easily obtainable, as it is evident from—

ág paṛ'ná (falling of fire on an article), to become dear in price.
ág ke mol (at the price of fire), expensive.

Fire is also conceived to be ever burning in our stomach, and that fire consumes all food, as shown in—

peṭ kí ág (fire of the stomach), hunger.
ág bujháná (to put out fire), to satisfy hunger.

The uses, characteristics and semantic conceptions of other things are recorded in the following examples—

Water in—

páni lag'ná (to be touched by water), to be affected by climate.
páni honá (to become water), to melt.
páni par níńv ḍál'ná (to lay the foundation on water), to have a weak foundation.
páni meń ág lagáná (to set fire to the water), to do the impossible.
páni pher'ná (to wash with water), to destroy.
páni dená (to give water), to offer libations as the Hindus do.
páni bhar'ná (to carry water), to confess inferiority.
páni na máńg'ná (not even to ask for water), to die at once.

Rains and clouds in—

chájoń baras'ná, to rain basketfuls, to rain in cats and dogs.
baras paṛ'ná (to rain), to weep, to shower abuses.

River and Sea in—

sát samundar pár (across the seven seas), very distant.
laṅgar ḍál'ná (to put the anchor), to stop.
ul'ṭí gaṅgá baháná (to make the Ganges flow upwards), to do an irregular or reverse act.
nadí náv sańyog (the union between the current and the boat), chance.
náv meń khák uṛáná (to talk of raising dust in the boat), to

censure in vain, to talk nonsense.

páp kí náv (the boat of sin), sinful life.

darda kí lahar (the wave of pain), pain.

Dew in—

os paṛ'ná (falling of dew), to wither, to get disappointed.

os ke motí (pearls of dew), transitory things.

os se pyás bujháná (to quench thirst with dew), an improbability.

Planets in—

zamín par á rah'ná (to come down to the ground), to decline, repent.

zamín meṅ gaṛ'ná (to be set into the ground), to be ashamed.

cáṅd par thúk'ná (to spit on the moon), to blame an innocent person.

cáṅd ká ṭuk'ṛá (a piece of the moon), beautiful.

tárá honá (to be a star), to be high, to be away.

sitárá camak'ná (shining of the star), to have good fortune.

sanícar áná (coming of the Saturn), to be unlucky.

mín mekh kar'ná (to count planets), to find fault with.

etc., etc.

3. v. Habits, Customs and Superstitions.

Many Hindi idioms refer to the human habits in general.

Compare—

lál pílá honá (to be red and pale), to be angry.

aṅg chúná (to touch a limb, say the ear), to swear.

agar magar honá (to say 'if' and 'but'), to argue.

dáṛhí phaṭ'kár'ná (to pat the beard), to be pleased.

uṅg'lí káṭ'ná (to bite the finger), to show wonder.

muṅh pher lená (to turn away the face), in indifference.

chátí ṭhoṅk'ná (to pat the chest), to show courage.

aṅgúṭhá cúm'ná (to kiss the thumb of a person), to flatter.

aṅgúṭhá dikháná (to show the thumb), to disappoint.

dáṅtoṅ tale uṅg'lí dabáná (to press a finger under the teeth), to wonder.

gin gin kar din káṭ'ná (to pass days by counting them), to pass hard times.

bāṭ dekh'nā (to look at the way), to wait.

More numerous than these are the idioms which are based on national manners, customs, and ceremonies.

The following list, though big, would be an interesting study. Each of the idioms refers to a detailed account of a ceremony. A comparison of the literal and the implied meanings in the following will, however, explain the implication of Indian conditions.

pag'ṛī uchāl'nā (to toss up another's turban), to disgrace.

cādar utār'nā (to remove a person's sheet), to disgrace.

caraṇ chūnā (to touch the feet), to greet.

ghuṭ'ne ṭek'nā (to bend knees), to make a humble request, to accept superiority.

ūṅce caṛh'kar kah'nā (to shout from a high place), to proclaim.

chātī se lagānā (to take a person to the chest), to meet.

pāṅv paṛ'nā (to fall on another's feet), to be humble.

ṭhoṛī pakaṛ'nā (to touch another's chin or beard), to beseech.

dupaṭṭā badal'nā (to change scarf with another girl), to be friends.

ṭāṅg tale se nikal'nā (to go under the legs), to confess defeat.

khūṭā gāṛ'nā (to fix a pole), to show boundary line.

gadhe par caṛhānā (to mount a person on an ass and take him about the city), to defame.

No further explanation of the connection between the literal and the metaphorical meanings of these idioms is required. It is evident that **dupaṭṭā badal'nā**, for example, has come to mean 'to make friends' as in India interchange of the head-dress is considered to be a sign of intimacy. Also compare Punj. **pag vaṭāuṇā** (to change turbans), to make friends. Similarly by taking a person on the back of a donkey and make him go about the city is a sign of proclaiming him to be a bad character. Hence **gadhe par caṛhānā** means 'to defame'.

The following refer to Hindu customs and ceremonies—

janmaghuṭṭī meṅ pīnā (to drink with the first medicine during childhood), to be habitual.

god bhar'nā (to fill the lap with something), to give presents to bride.

ṭīkā bhej'nā (to send a mark), to betrothe.

ghī ke dīye jalānā (to burn ghee in lamps), to rejoice.

celá múṅḍ'ná (to shave a disciple), to win over a person,
phúl uṭhánáa (to pick up burnt bones of a dead person), to finish obsequial rites.
tin'ká toṛ'ná (to break a blade of grass), to show disconnection.
ṭáṭ ulaṭ'ná (to upset the mat), to be insolvent.
kháṭ se utárá jáná (to be taken down from the bed and laid on the ground), to be dying.
kalaṅk lagáná (to set a black mark on the forehead of a person), to disgrace.
chaṭhí ká dúdh (milk from the sixth day of birth), happy days.
doná caṛháná (to place a cupful of sweets), to give offerings.
cár ke kandhe par jáná (to go on the shoulders of four persons), to die.
kapál kriyá (the end of the skull in cremation), burning of a dead body.
kaṇṭhá uṭháná (to pick up a neck rosary), to swear.
cúṛiyáṅ ṭhaṇḍí kar'ná (to break bangles), to become widow.
gaṅgá nahánáa (to bathe in the Ganges), to finish a duty.
gáṅṭh báṅdh'ná (to tie the knots), to marry.
etc. etc.

Also compare Punj. **phere deṇe** (to take round the fire), to marry, **chuhárá deṇá** (to give dried dates), to betrothe, **matthá cittar'ná** (to decorate the forehead), to adorn the bride, **tel coṇá** (to spill oil), to welcome the bride and the bridegroom after marriage, **pag banhaṇí** (to tie a new turban), to take the place of the dead father.

The following idioms depict *Muslim life*—

kafan sir se báṅdh'ná (to tie the funeral cloth with one's head), to be ready to sacrifice life.
kafan ke liye kauṛí na honá (not to have a shell for funeral cloth), to be very poor.
bismillá kar'ná (to say Bismillah i.e. 'in the name of God'), to start.
ímán choṛ'ná (to give up faith or religion), to be dishonest.
iṅṭ ke liye masjid ḍhaháná (to destroy the mosque for the sake of a brickbat), to do a great harm for the sake of a trifle.
íd ká cánd (Id moon), rare but most desired.

yásín paṛh'ná (to recite the Yasín chapter from the Qoran), to proclaim a man's death.

kurán uṭhánú (to take up the Qoran), to swear.

kabra ke mur'de ukháṛ'ná (to take out dead bodies from the grave), to revive past things.

ap'ne háthoṅ kabra khod'ná (to dig one's own grave), to harm oneself.

There are idioms depicting the life of Brahmans, Rajputs, shopkeepers, bankers, physicians, servants, barbers, goldsmiths, boatsmen, mendicants and, in fact, all walks of social life.

Compare—

shrí gaṇesh kar'ná (to say Sri Gaṇesh), to start.

maidán már'ná (to beat the field), to win.

dukán uṭhánú (to raise the shop), to close the business.

dukán lagánú (to open a shop), to arrange things all about.

taráju ho jánú (to be a balance), to be equalled in power.

masmidá báṅdh'ná (to bind the manuscript), to plan things.

ásámí banánú (to make a client), to win a person over.

cándí kar ḍál'ná (to turn into silver), to reduce to ashes.

bháṛ jhoṅk'ná (to poke an oven), to do menial work, to waste time.

bháṛ meṅ jhoṅk'ná (to throw into an oven), to destroy.

bhaṭṭhí dahak'ná (burning of a kiln or hearth), to earn much.

kainchí lagánú (to use the scissors), to cut hair.

sir máṛ'ná (to cut hair), to rob.

manjh'dhár meṅ choṛ'ná (to leave in the whirlpool), to leave in trouble.

sone par soháge ká kám (the action of zinc on gold), glorifying or doubling effect.

kaṇṭhí báṅdh'ná (to tie a neck rosary), to become a mendicant.

alakh jagánú (to call in the name of God), to beg.

It is particularly to be noted that although one may understand meanings of all words, he connot know the meanings of such idioms without an historical knowledge of the people and their language. The relationship between semantics and culture is close, indeed.

There is quite a good number of idioms which contain relics of customs which have long disappeared. Language is, indeed, a useful record of national history, past and present.

kambal oṛhá kar lúṭ'ná (to plunder after winding a person in a blanket), to hoodwink, as Pindaris did.

bíṛá uṭhánáa (to pick up the betel leaf), to take up a challenge, as the Rajputs did in the presence of elderly people.

tiláṅj'lí denáa (to give just a handful of sesamum seeds), to dispossess, to give up, as in Hindu civil law.

kalam cúm'ná (to kiss the pen), to praise a writing, as done by Káyastha writers.

gajar dam (at the time of the gong), 4 o'clock in the early morning, as was the custom in Mughal times.

The following punishments were at one time prevalent.

kaṛáhí meṅ háth ḍál'ná (to put hands in an iron boiler), to swear.

nákoṅ cane cab'váná (to oblige a person to take in gram through the nose), to harass.

nák coṭí káṭ'ná (to cut off the nose and braids of hair, as of a woman), to humiliate, to defeat.

káṭh meṅ páṅv denáa (to put the feet in a wooden frame), to give trouble, to punish.

kán katar'ná (to cut off ears), to beat a person in a fight.

tavá sir se báṅdh'ná (to tie a pan on one's head), to safeguard oneself.

tal'voṅ se áṅkheṅ mal'ná (to rub one's eyes with a big person's soles), to flatter.

khál udhaṛ'ná (to be fleeced), to be severely beaten.

gadhe par caṛháná (to mount a person on an ass), to disgrace.

játiyáṅ sir par rakh'ná (to put another's shoes on one's head), to flatter.

tal've cáṭ'ná (to lick the soles of a person's feet), to flatter.

lásh galiyoṅ meṅ khic'váná (to drag the dead body in public streets), to proclaim a criminal.

Compare Punj. **jháṭe tel páṇá** (to put oil in the hair of a woman), to disgrace in public, **sir sváh páṇí** (to put ash on the head), to condemn. **tel dí kaṛáhí vic pāṇá** (to be put into a cauldron of oil), to suffer an ordeal. **juttiyáṅ kháṇiyáṅ** (to be beaten with shoes), to be disgraced in public.

It appears from the following that these idioms were founded during the Mughal revolutionary period, when the coins, more particularly the copper coins, of one government were rejected in

the time of another—

ṭaká sá javáb, refusal.

ṭaká sá muńh lekar, disappointed.

Compare Punj. **ṭake cál**, slow movement.

The beliefs and superstitions of the Hindi people and their significance may be studied in the following—

chátí par bál honá (to have hair on the chest), to be generous.

guddí kí nágin (coil on the nape of the neck), inauspicious.

billí uláńgh'ná (meeting a cat across the way), to become ominous.

díṣh utár'ná, to remove the evil eye (by charms).

ullú bol'ná (crying of an owl), to be desolate.

cauth ká cánd honá (to be the moon of the 4th day), to be the cause of infamy.

gadhe ká hal caláná (to yoke an ass in the plough), to fall into ruins.

caurásí meń paṛ'ná (to be in 84 births), to transmigrate.

ás'mán meń ched honá (to have a hole in the sky), to rain heavily.

dáhine honá (to be on the right hand), to be auspicious.

muharram kí paidáish (to be born in the Muharram days), to be unlucky.

áńkh phaṛak'ná (throbbing of the eye), to show sign of a coming event.

khún saphed honá (to have white blood), to be merciless.

dánt tálá meń jam'ná (to have first teeth in the jaw), to die young.

áńkhoń se ján nikal'ná (losing life, as it were, through eyes), to be waiting.

áńcal phaṛ'ná (to tear a cloth), to practise magic.

áńcal lená (to take up the end of a person's scarf), to welcome.

ul'ṭí málá pher'ná (tell beads wrong side), to invite calamity.

kíl jaṛ'ná (to set a nail), to ward off evil.

tal'vá khuj'láná (an itching sensation in the sole), to be about to travel.

candramá bal'ván honá (to have the moon strong), to have good luck. etc., etc.

3. vi. History, Myth and Tradition.

Connected with the above are a number of idioms describing historical, mythical or fabulous events. History is represented in the following—

rám'rájya (lit. government of Rama), pleasure and peace.

nádar'sháhí (lit. rule of Nadir shah), tyranny.

cám ke dám (lit. leather token money), forced government, as by the water-carrier who reigned at Delhi for a couple of days.

rávaṇ kí senā (lit. Rávana's army), black people.

bibhíṣaṇ honā (lit. to be Bibhisana) to disclose secrets.

Bibhisan was Rávana's brother who had joined Ráma, the enemy.

karṇadán (lit. charity of Karna), liberal, selfless charity.

hammír haṭh (lit. fortitude of Hammira, the Rajput), ideal fortitude.

harishcandra honā (lit. to be Harishcandra), to be truthful.

shabr'í ke ber (lit. fruits of Shabarí), affection and devotion.

Shabari was a Bhil woman, who devotedly presented fruits to Rama in the forest.

bíṛā uṭhānā (lit. to take up a betel leaf), to take up a challenge.

mínā bájár (lit. a jewellery market), a show of ladies etc., as is said to have been arranged by Akbar.

Punj. **sikhā shāhí**, (lit. the rule of the Sikhs after Ranjit's death), anarchy and disorder.

Mythological beliefs may be noted below—

aṅg'hín, Cupid (lit. without body). It is said that cupid was burnt to ashes by God Shiva whom he disturbed in his penance. Rati, the wife of Cupid, entreated Shiva and persuaded him to revive his life. Shiva restored his life but not his body. Cupid lives without the physical body.

varuṇálay, the sea (lit. the abode of Varuṇa, the god of waters).

kapálí, Shiva (lit. one who wears skulls about his neck). Shiva, the god of death, is fond of dancing in this dress.

nárad bharamaṇ, homelessness. It is said that Nárada, a semi-god, wanders about from one region to another, generally on missions of friendship or enmity, and never stays at one place.

sarvagrás, full eclipse (lit. full morsel). It is believed that eclipse takes place when **ráhu** or **ketu,** the typhon, devours the sun or the moon, partially or fully.

parvatári, Indra (the enemy of mountains). It is supposed that mountains used to fly about at one time. Indra cut off their wings and since then they are stationary.

There are a few idioms containing references to the folk-lore which had become popular throughout the country.

lál bujhakkaṛ, a wiseacre. There are many stories depicting the foolish wisdom of an imaginary **lál bujhakkaṛ.**

shekh'cillí, a dreamer, one who makes castles in the air.

páṅcoṅ savároṅ meṅ homá, to count oneself among big persons. It is said that four royal horsemen were going to Delhi. A villager on pony also joined them. When asked by some passersby as to where these four riders were going, the villager replied, "We, the five riders, are going to Delhi."

níṅbú nicoṛ, a miser (lit. a lemon-presser). A person used to go to a hotel with a lemon which he would offer to another customer. Courtesies exchanged and he was also offered a meal. He lived on his lemons like that for several days.

tís'már khán, a man who thinks himself to be very brave. A person once killed thirty flies. He thought he could kill men as well, and he joined the service of his king.

The following remind us of Arabo-Persian legends and history—

lailá maj'núṅ ká prem, great love. Laila and Majnu have been two lovers from Arabia.

yúsaf ká husna, ideal beauty. Yusaf was a boy of Egypt. He attracted a large number of ladies.

kárún ká khazáná, the immense wealth of a miser. Qárún was a Jew in the time of Moses.

4. SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF IDIOMS.

(i) GENERAL.

RESTRICTION — GENERALIZATION — PEJORATION AND AMELIORATION — SYNECDOCHE — METONYMY.

(ii) CONCRETION.

(iii) IDIOMATIC VERBS.

4. 1. General.

RESTRICTION. It is a distinguished fact that, although in general the tendency is towards specialization of meaning, idioms implying restricted meaning are few and far between. Elliptical idioms are, of course, many, but other types of restriction are uncommon. The following are due to euphemism—

ágá bhárí honá, to be pregnant.
na honá, to be dead.
pánv bhárí honá, to be pregnant.
adhúrá jáná, to miscarry.
ghar ábád kar'ná (to set up a house), to bring a bride.
etc., etc.

av'tár honá, to incarnate, **shráddha kar'ná**, to perform obsequies, are restricted due to their use in religion, but they are not idioms, as some of the Hindi compilers would like us to believe.

GENERALIZATION is comparatively common. Thus—

áńc ká khel (lit. a play of fire), hard task.
ákásh pátál ká antar (lit. difference between the nether regions and the sky), great difference.
ág phús ká vāir (enmity of fire and straw), natural enmity.
shaṅkh bajáná (lit. to blow conchshells), to rejoice.
motí pironá (lit. to wreathe pearls), to write beautifully.
koy'loṅ par mohar (seal on coals), pennywise pound foolish.
ek ḍál par rah'ná (lit. to live on one branch), to be resolute.
áṭe meṅ namak (lit. salt in flour), little.
áṭe ke sáth ghun pis'ná (lit. grinding of weevil with flour), hardship on small people along with big ones.
áṭe dál ká bháv máluṁ honá (lit. to know the rate of flour and pulses), to get an experience.
áńdhí ke ám (lit. mangoes from storm), cheap articles.
agáṛí pichháṛí lagáná (lit. to fix ropes in front and behind) to control.
myán se báhar honá (to be out of sheath), to lose patience.
etc., etc.

Compare Punj. **beṛá banne láṇá** (to take the boat to the bank to come out of a difficulty, **pahár nál ṭakkar láṇá** (to strike against a mountain), to fight against a big personality, **gal paiṇá** (t

jump at the throat), to quarrel.

Idioms, as a rule, originate from a particular person of authority in a particular class or society. When they are disseminated by travellers, monks, merchants, laymen, and scholars, they become a national property. Therefore, the movement of idiomatic meaning is from the special to the general.

PEJORATION AND AMELIORATION. Pejoration appears to be more common than amelioration. Idioms are usually employed to deride, to ridicule, or to direct. Praise is direct, elaborate, and consists in literal phraseology. Censure or criticism needs pithy, ironical and suggestive idioms. The following denote a good sense.—

pásá paṛ'ná (falling of the dice), to have a good luck.
anta ban'ná, to end well.
ákkheá meá khubh'ná (to prick in the eyes), to be attractive.
gin'ti homá, to be counted among big persons.
ḍhaṅg ká homá, to be of good style.

The following are the examples of pejorative idioms—

ákkh uṭháná, to look with an evil eye.
khel khel'ná, to play tricks.
gul khiláná (blooming of a flower), to do a bad act.
gat banáná (to deal with), to beat.
chhát're caṛh'ná (to go up to the balcony), to become a prostitute.
munáh nikal áná (having a face out), to become weak.
javáb dená (to give a reply), to refuse.
jhaṇḍe par caṛháná (to raise on a pole), to disrepute.
jhárú pher'ná (to broom), to destroy.

Compare Punj. **náṁ lag'ṇá**, to have a *bad* name, but **náṁ picche rakh'ná**, to die after *good* name.

SYNECDOCHE. Just as the majority of phrases are specific in form and general in meaning, so also in many idioms the part is used to denote the whole.

pulaṅg lagáná, to spread a bedding, etc.
mátháṅ paṭṭí meá rah'ná (to remain in combing the hair), to be busy in toilets.
gar'dan phaṅsáná (to get the neck entangled), to be in trouble.

ṭuk'ṛá máṅg'ná (lit. to beg a piece of bread), to beg.
galá chuṛáná (to free the neck), to be free.
ṭáṅg toṛ'ná (to break the leg), to beat.

METONYMY. Some idioms are based on irony. Examples—

gáṅṭh ká púrá, selfish (lit. having a firm knot).
acche mile i. e. we could not meet (lit. we met well).
baṛá ghar, jail (lit. the big house).

Not a few are hyperbolic. Compare the literal and implied meanings of the following—

lahú píná (lit. to drink another person's blood), to harass.
aṅgár baras'ná (raining coals), to be hot.
ákásh chúná (to touch the sky), to be high.
jáme meṅ na samáná (not to be contained in the garment), to rejoice.
nák par makkhí na baiṭh'ne denā (not to let the fly sit on the nose), to be under no obligation.
ág babúlá honá (to be a ball of fire), to be angry.
gú khánā (to eat dung), to err.
til dhar'ne kí jagah na honá (to have no room even for a grain of sesamum), to be full.

The other forms of transference of meaning are also obtainable. The sign may denote the signified, as in—

kambal uṛháná, to send to jail (lit. to make one wear a blanket).
kaṇṭhá denā, to make a Sádhu (lit to give neck rosary).

The function of one limb may be attributed to another, as in—

áṅkhoṅ meṅ kah'ná, to make a sign (to say in the eyes, to sign with eyes).
áṅkhoṅ meṅ samáná, to be liked (to fit in the eyes, i.e. the heart).

The place may denote the product or the receptacle may signify the contents, as in—

god lenā (to take into the lap), to adopt a son.
god bharí rah'ná (to have the lap full), to have children.
ghar jáná (going of the house), going out of the wife and children.
ḍálí denā (to give a basket), to give presents.

ḍolā lānā (to bring a palanquin), to bring a bride.
ānkh baiṭh jānā (collapsing of the eye), to lose eyesight.

4. ii. Concretion.

Concretion of form and abstraction of meaning is, however, the most prominent feature of Hindi idioms and deserves to be treated in a separate section. We have already noted how various parts of the body are conceived to denote a number of metaphorical attributes, actions or ideas. Man has measured most things, abstract as well as concrete, according to his own self. Besides himself, he has compared the abstract life to the concrete life about him.

It is a special characteristic of Hindi idioms that of the two elements, substantive and verb, one must be concrete. Often, both are concrete and the whole concrete idiom denotes an abstract sense. Examples—

cār cānd lag'nā (having four moons), to grow in grandeur.
gar'dan jhukānā, to bow, to submit, (lit. to bend the neck).
kān khaṛe kar'nā (to raise ears), to be alarmed.
ṭakkar khānā (to bear a collision), to suffer loss.

An abstract attribute may be conceived as a concrete thing. Examples—

'Eyesight' (**dīṭh** or **dṛṣṭi**) can be stolen, thrown away, tied, applied, burnt or killed. It is considered as a fighter, as an animal, as a nail and even as a carpet.

Compare—

dīṭh curānā (to steal eyes), not to face boldly.
dṛṣṭi phenk'nā (to throw eyesight), to see from afar.
dṛṣṭi bāndh'nā (to bind the sight), to hypnotise.
dīṭh lag'nā, to have an evil eye.
dīṭh gāṛ'nā (to fix or pitch eyesight), to stare.
dīṭh jalānā (to burn the sight), to remove evil eye.
dīṭh mār'nā (to strike with the sight), to make a sign.
dīṭh laṛānā (to fight with the sight), to stare.
dīṭh bacānā (to avoid the sight), to shirk.
dīṭh bichānā (to spread eyes), to receive devotedly.

'Honour' (**ijjat**) can go up and come down. It can be sold and its price may increase or decrease. It may be lost. It may be hurt

and sometimes thrown into the dust.

Compare—

mán ghaṭ'ná (decreasing of honour), to have less honour.
ijjat bec'ná (to sell honour), to lose honour.
ijjat do koṛí kí rah'ná (to make honour worth a cowrie shell), to disgrace.
ijjat khoná, to lose honour.
ijjat meń baṭṭá lagáná (to strike honour with a stone), to defame.
ijjat miṭṭí kar'ná (to turn honour into dust), to defame.

'Work' (**kám**) may walk or stop. It can be seen and divided. It grows and is at last dead.

Compare—

kám caláná (to drive work), to start work.
kám ruk'ná, stopping of work.
kám dekh'ná (to see work), to find work.
kám báṇṭ'ná, to divide work.
kám baṛh'ná, increasing of work.
kám bhugat'ná, finishing of work.

'Anger' (**krodh** or **gussá**) behaves like an evil spirit, fire or poison. Similarly, 'Fate' (**bhágya**) shines like a star. It may be straight (favourable) or crooked (unfavourable). It may keep waking or go to sleep. It can break into pieces.

Attributes are things that can be given and taken and handled.

Compare—

bhed lená, to take secret
daṇḍa daná, give punishment
vacan daná, to give a promise
gussá lánā, to bring anger
murád páná, to obtain a desire
ijjat meń háth ḍál'ná, to put hands into another's honour.

They can be made and unmade like other substantial articles.

Compare—

bát banáná, to make a plan
nám banáná, to make name
bát bigáṛ'ná, unmaking of plan.
mán banáná, to build respect
kám bigáṛ'ná, spoiling of work

Some are considered as eatable.

ṭhokar kháná (to eat a stroke), to collide.
dhokhá kháná (to eat fraud), to be deceived.
ghim kháná (to eat hatred), to hate.

As a rule, concrete verbs are preferred to abstract ones. They

make the expressions definite and direct.

Connected with this form of concretion is what may be called animalization of inanimate objects, or even abstract things. Compare—

kám ke sir honá (to be over the head of work), to be busy.
kathá bāḷṭhaná (to seat recitation), to have the scriptures recited.
gap uṛáná (hánk'ná) (to fly or drive a gossip), to gossip.
ghar bāḷṭh'ná (sitting of the house), falling of the house.
vyápár cal'ná (going on of trade), to have good business.
dil uṛ jáná (flying away of the heart), to be perturbed.
khabar uṛáná (to fly a news), to issue a news.
akal car'ne jáná (going away of the sense for grazing), lose sense.
kap'ṛe bhí káṭe kháte hāḷá (even clothes bite), to be hot.
páńv so jáná (sleeping of the foot), to be benumbed.
zabán ko lagám daná (to bridle the tongue), to control it.
bát áí gaí honá (coming and going away of a talk), passing away of something.
bát ká sir pāir na honá (a talk without head and feet), to be meaningless.
kál ke gál meń jáná (to go into the jaws of death), to die.
bát hánk'ná (to drive a talk), to talk.
peṭ pál'ná (to nourish the belly), to earn.
páńv meń par lag'ná (to have wings on the feet), to run.
etc., etc.

This tendency for concretion is also responsible for metonymy in idioms where cause is used to denote effect and *vice versa*. For examples see p. 264.

4. iii. Idiomatic Verbs.

Ellipsis, we have seen (pp. 188-189 & 261), is responsible for idiomatic signification of several verbs.

The following are the examples of verbs that have developed abstract meanings, although they are still used in their concrete sense as well.

jháḍ'ná (to dust), to warn.

baras'ná (to rain), to say harsh words.
ubhar'ná (to rise), to be excited.
khul'ná (to open), to be free.
saṛ'ná (to burn), stink.
akaṛ'ná (to be stiff), to be proud.
tul'ná (to be balanced), to be ready.
jág'ná (to wake up), to be alert.
dhun'ná (to card as cotton), to beat.
gáṇṭh'ná (to put a knot), to make friends.
phúl'ná (to bloom), to be happy.
ulajh'ná (to be entangled), to quarrel.
bhun'ná (to be parched), to fret.
jal'ná (to burn), to be jealous.
phisal'ná (to slip), to be tempted.
jam'ná (to freeze), to become firm.
nác'ná (to dance), to rejoice.
toṛ'ná (to break), to dissuade.
ṭhuk'ráná (to kick), to disregard.
múṇḍ'ná (to shave), to plunder.

The use of concrete verbs in various associations has led to a large variety of meanings.

Compare—

kháná, to eat, and **píná**, to drink, in **dhúp kháná**, to enjoy the sun, **cug'lí kháná** (backbiting), to sneak, **dhakká** (blow), **ṭhokar** (kick) or **coṭ** (hurt) **kháná**, to bear a hurt. **ján** (life) **kháná**, to worry, **krodh** (anger) **píná**, to suppress anger.

áná, to come, and **jáná**, to go, in **dil** (heart) **áná**, to love, **kám** (use) **áná**, to be useful, **khel** (play) **áná**, to know playing, **áṅkh** (eye) or **muṅh** (mouth) **áná**, to have bad eye or mouth. **kuch** (something) **jáná**, to lose something.

daná, to give, and **laná**, to take, in **dil** (heart) **daná**, to fall in love, **kám laná**, to take work, to use, **zabán** (tongue, word) **daná**, to promise, **khabar** (news) **laná**, to attend.

paṛ'ná (to lie) and **uṭháná** (to raise, to bear) in **raṇ paṛ'ná**, to have a fight, **jhúṭhá** (untrue) **paṛ'ná**, to be belied, **galá** (throat) **paṛ'ná**, to have bad throat, **garmí** (heat) **paṛ'ná**, to be hot, **dám uṭháná**, to set price, **kharca** (expense) **uṭháná**, to spend, **gháṭá** (loss) **uṭháná**, to suffer loss, **dharma** (faith) **uṭháná**, to swear.

lag'ná (to be attached, to be obtained) in **áṅkh** (eye) **lag'ná**, to

sleep, **háth** (hand) **lag'ná,** to obtain, **jí** (heart) **lag'ná,** to like, **píṭh lag'ná,** to have a bad back, **kám** (ear) **lag'ná,** to listen, **havá** (air) **lag'ná,** to be affected by climate, **ág** (fire) **lag'ná,** to burn, **ṭhikáne** (abode) **lag'ná,** to rest.

cal'ná (to walk) in **galá** (throat) **cal'ná,** to sing, **zabán** (tongue) **cal'ná,** to talk, **churá cal'ná,** to use a dagger.

khol'ná (to open) and **báṅdh'ná** (to tie) in **jí** (heart) **khol'ná,** to be frank, **pul** (bridge) **báṅdh'ná,** to make a bridge, **ṭak** (stare) **báṅdh'ná,** to stare, **rozá** (fast) **khol'ná,** to break fast, **samíṁ báṅdh'ná,** to prepare a plan.

laṛ'ná (to fight) and **laṛáná** (to cause to fight) in **jáṁ** (life) **laṛáná,** to work hard, **gap laṛáná,** to gossip, **áṅkh** (eye) **laṛáná,** to see, **zabán** (tongue) **laṛáná,** to talk.

ḍál'ná (to put in) and **nikál'ná** (to take out) in **jí** (heart, life) **ḍál'ná,** to revive, **áṅkh** (eye) **ḍál'ná,** to see, **háth** (hand) **ḍál'ná,** to handle, **ádat** (habit) **ḍál'ná,** to become habituated, **gálí** (abuse) **nikál'ná,** to abuse.

curáná (to steal) in **díṭh** (eye) **curáná,** to avoid, **dam curáná,** to hold breath, **jí** (heart) **curáná,** to shirk work.

uṛáná (to fly) in **gap uṛáná,** to gossip, **caín** (enjoyment) **uṛáná,** to enjoy oneself.

káṭ'ná (to cut) in **din káṭ'ná,** to pass the day, **kaíd káṭ'ná,** to finish imprisonment, **cakkar káṭ'ná,** to make a round, **kalejá káṭ'ná,** to hurt feelings.

már'ná (to kill) in **man már'ná,** to control the mind, **cíkh már'ná,** to shriek, **chaláng már'ná,** to jump, **mál már'ná** to embezzle money, **táná már'ná,** to taunt.

ṭúṭ'ná (to break) in **dil ṭúṭ'ná,** heart break, **jor ṭúṭ'ná,** to lose strength, **zulam toṛ'ná,** to do injustice, **ghamaṇḍa toṛ'ná,** to curb one's pride, **pání toṛ'ná,** to let water pass into other channels.

bhar'ná (to fill) in **chátí** (chest, heart) **bhar'ná,** to melt with pity, **ḍag** (steps) **bhar'ná,** to walk, **gháv** (wound), **bhar'ná,** to heal, **gháṭá bhar'ná,** to make up the loss, **peṭ** (belly) **bhar'ná,** to feed oneself.

Why a particular verb should have been used with a particular noun for a particular meaning is a subject for further study, to which helps will be found in previous chapters. But it will be seen that the concrete literal meaning is in the centre of all the various idiomatic by-meanings.

5. PROVERBS.

(i) THE COMMON ATTRIBUTES OF A PROVERB AND AN IDIOM.
(ii) THE DEGREE OF METAPHORICAL MEANING IN A PROVERB.
GROUP A — LITERAL PROVERBS.
GROUP B — METAPHORICAL OR ALLEGORICAL PROVERBS.
GROUP C — METAPHORICO-LITERAL PROVERBS.

5. i. The common Attributes of a Proverb and an Idiom.

A proverb shares several characteristics of an idiom. It is short and terse. It comes from the people and is actually used by them; like an idiom it results from the common, everyday, experiences of our village folk and particularly ladies. Its subject-matter is also the same. The genesis of an idiom and a proverb is common. Some person, endowed with imagination, puts a thought into fanciful or apt words. He does not do it purposely, but probably feels himself compelled to utter certain words instinctively. The occasion, whatever it may have been, inspires him to use a certain ornamentation of speech. We find a variety of ornamentations serving the purpose either of emphasizing the meaning or of making the idiom or proverb terse by some omission, or of enlivening it by way of animating lifeless things or by giving concrete forms to abstract attributes or by implying metaphorical sense. An apt and concrete combination of ideas, or a profound truth, naturally makes a lasting impression on the listeners, who repeat it when a similar occasion arises. If the utterance is capable of application to events and situations other than the one which originally evoked it, then its chances of preservation become much greater.

Concretion and generalization are, then, the most prominent characteristics of a proverb as well as of an idiom. **akelá caná bháṛ nahíń phoṛ'tá** (a single gram cannot break the furnace), is the concrete expression of the experience of a parcher. When generalized **caná** (gram) denotes a man and **bháṛ** (furnace), the world full of the struggle for existence; and the whole proverb means: A single person does not count against odds. Compare English: One swallow does not make a summer. **kar maz'dúrí khá cúrí**, literally means "do labour and eat buttered bread", or "no sweet without sweat", but the generalized meaning is "If you work hard, you must get a good

reward". **ap'ne ghar meṅ kuttā bhī sher hotā hai** (even a dog is a lion in its own kennel) started as the statement of a single and restricted event as also its equivalent "every cock is proud of his own dung hill". Or Punj. **ap'ṇe ghar har koī bād'shāh,** everyone is a king in his own house. Here **kuttā bhī** suggests any living being, and **sher homā** is the metaphorical way of saying 'to be bold and heroic". In **kāṭh kī haṅḍiyā ek bār caṛh'tī hai** (a wooden kettle can be used on fire only once), **kāṭh kī haṅḍiyā** denotes the abstract and general 'trick or frailty' and, therefore, the whole comes to imply a general principle of behaviour. In **kutte ko ghī hajam nahīṅ hotā** (a dog cannot digest butter), **kuttā** is 'a mean person' and **ghī hajam homā** is 'to have wealth or honour assimilated and glorified', and the whole means: A low born man feels too proud of his honours. **koy'loṅ kī dalālī** (brokerage in coals) is one form of wretched work, and **muṅh kālā homā** (to have the face blackened) is one form of evil or disgrace resulting from such a wretched work. The generalization of the proverb **koy'loṅ kī dalālī meṅ muṅh kālā** has come to mean that a wretched business results in evil or that evil communications corrupt good manners. Compare Eng. "He who toucheth pitch is defiled therewith". **cor cor mausere bhāī,** two thieves are cousins. The 'thieves' represents all evil-doers and 'cousins' denotes the idea of intimacy, association or relation. The proverb, generalized, means "Evil doers are intimate friends". Compare Punj. **cor dā yār gaṇḍhakap** or Eng. "They agree like pickpockets in a fair."

Thus each of the above proverbs records one particular event or concrete idea. As a matter of fact, every proverb is based on an event in someone's experience. Sometimes, a proverb may contain the gist of a long event in life. Some proverbs may remind us of a legend, fable or historical fact. But in each case the meaning has been extended to general spheres of life.

Examples—

ānkheṅ kī sūiyāṅ rah gaīṅ (lit. only the needles in the eyes were left), the success was nearly achieved. A prince once happened to fall into the hands of a witch, who left him tranced with needles pricked into his body. One day a princess came to that garden and saw the prince in such a condition. She took pity on him and started taking out needles from the body. At last the day came when the needles in the eyes only were left. She asked her

maidservant to sit by the side of the prince, while she herself went to the tank for a bath. The maid-servant picked out the remaining needles from his eyes. When the princess, who had fallen in love with the prince, returned, she found that the prince had risen from his trance and taken the servant to be his wife.

We leave the whole subject to paraemeologists. Here it is desired only to note that a proverb, like an idiom, may refer to one event in a life or a series of events in fiction or history. It is impossible to understand the significance of the following idioms without a knowledge of the folk-lore and history of the Hindi speaking people.

hazúr ká nāūkar húń bāīńgan ká nahíń (lit. I am your servant and not a servant of the brinjal) reminds us of a servant who said "yes", "yes" according to the wishes of his master although he proved himself to be self-contradictory.

cor kí dáṛhí meń tin'ká (lit. there is a straw in the thief's beard), a guilty conscience accuses itself.

ańgúr khaṭṭe hāīń (lit. grapes are sour) is a well-known proverb.

andher nag'rí cāūpaṭ rájá, ṭake ser bhájí ṭake ser khájá is the subject of a drama by Bháratendu Harishcandra describing what is injustice and indiscreetness.

kaháń rájá bhoj kaháń gańgá telí contains an episode of the life of Rájá Bhoj of Dhár and means "There is all the difference between a king and a beggar."

5. ii. The Degree of Metaphorical Meaning in a Proverb.

A. LITERAL PROVERBS. Proverbs have one important peculiarity, namely, that they may have a purely literal meaning, whereas there can be no literal idioms. The following are quite clear in meaning and yet they are proverbs all the same.

jab tak sáńs tab tak ás, Hope lasts with life.

ap'ní izzat ap'ne háth, Honour yourself and you will be honoured.

kám pyárá hāī cám pyárá nahíń, Handsome is that handsome does.

na hone se thoṛá acchá, Something is better than nothing.

áp burá jag burá, He who is bad thinks that the whole world is bad.

púrab yá pacchim ghar sab'se uttam, East or west home is the best.

turat dán mahá kalyán, He doubles the value of his gift who gives in time.

It appears that the survival of literal proverbs is due to their force, subtlety and exactness. Some literal proverbs are so absolutely literal that any attempt to widen their meaning would be utterly useless. They are bound up too closely with their particular subject-matter.

B. METAPHORICAL OR ALLEGORICAL PROVERBS. The allegorical proverb has a longer life on account of its suggestive power than the literal expression. The number of such proverbs is very large in Hindi. Regarding fully allegorical proverbs, it may be said that some of them have never been and never could have been used literally. Some did have had a literal meaning at one time, but on account of change in beliefs and superstitions, their literal sense is now lost.

Examples—

dhobí ká kuttá na ghar ká na ghát ká (lit. The dog of the washerman could be neither at the river nor at his house). No man can serve two masters.

nau sau cúhe kháke billí haj ko (lit. The cat becomes a pilgrim after taking the life of 900 rats). A young whore, an old saint.

súp bole to bole chal'ní kyá bole jis meń hazár ched (lit. The winnowing basket may boast, but how can the sieve which has a thousand holes).

pańc kaheń billí to billí hí sahí (lit. When the leaders say, it is a cat, it is a cat, indeed). Compare Eng. When all men say, you are an ass, it is time to bray.

dívár ke bhí kán hote haĩń. Even the walls have ears.

koyal hoy na uj'lí, nau man sábun láye (lit. The black cuckoo cannot turn white even if nine maunds of soap may be used). Can the Ethiopian change his skin?

ráí ká paháŗ banáná or Eng. to make a mountain of a mole hill.

hatheli par sar'soń jamáná (lit. to grow mustard on the palm of the hand), to produce a thing at once.

C. METAPHORICO-LITERAL PROVERBS. The *differentia specifica* of the last group are not always distinguishable from the corresponding attributes of the other two groups. Anyhow, when a proverb derived from one particular sphere of life is extended to a wide field of circumstances, national or even common to mankind in general, it does not interfere in any way with the stability of literal meaning in the limited circle of its usage.

The majority of our proverbs can be readily interpreted in either the literal or the figurative sense.

Examples—

tāīrák hí ḍúb'te hāīń, Good swimmers are oftenest drowned.

jit'ná guṛ it'ná hí míṭhá, or Eng. The deeper the well, the colder the water.

jaháń guṛ vaháń makkhiyáń, Bees haunt the honey pot.

díye tale andherá, (darkness under the lamp), The nearer the church the farther from God.

jaldí pakká so jaldí saṛá, Soon ripe is soon rotten.

andhe ke áge hírá kańkaṛ sab barábar, a pebble and a diamond are alike to a blind man.

dúdh ká jalá chách phúńk phúńk kar pítá hāī, or Eng. A burnt child dreads the fire.

It may be noted that the movement is always from the literal to the figurative and not in the opposite direction.

The metaphorico-literal proverbs may have a varying degree of allegorical meanings. They may imply ten percent, twenty five percent, fifty percent or even seventy five percent, metaphorical meaning.

The element of metaphor in the following is very small—

saccá jáye rotá áye, jhúṭhá jáye hańs'tá áye (The truthful come back weeping and the liars return happy) is used in its literal sense but with reference to the law-courts. **jab tak jíná tab tak síná** (So long as you live, you have to sew some cloth or the other). Here sewing, a particular form of activity, represents work in general. The meaning of other words is clear. In **akal baṛí ki bhāīńs** (lit. Wisdom is bigger than a buffalo). Here buffalo stands for physical power. In **áj kidhar ká cáńd nik'lá hāī, cáńd,** the moon, refers to a dear person who is seen rarely or only occasionally.

The following contain a higher percentage of allegorical sense.—

adhelá na de adhelí de (He gives half a rupee and not half

a pice), penny wise, pound foolish.

na kuttá dekhegá na bhaunkegá (The dog will neither see nor bark), what the eye sees not, the heart rules not.

ap'ní chách ,ko koí khaṭṭá ˙nahín kah'tá or Eng. Every man thinks his own geese swans.

syáná kauvá dám meń nahín phańs'tá, or Eng. Old birds are not caught with chaff.

Except for the implied meanings of a couple of words in each case, the meaning and use of the proverb is clear and expressive.

The following proverbs have more than half allegorical element—

úńcí dukán phíká pak'ván (High shop, tasteless roast) cf. much cry, little wool; or great boast, little roast.

dekhíye úńṭ kis kar'vaṭ badal'tá hai (See what side the camel turns), cf. See which way the wind blows.

khar'búze ko dekh'kar khar'búzá raṅg pakaṛ'tá hai, i. e. Society moulds men

ṭhaṇḍá lohá garma lohe ko káṭ'tá hai (Cold steel will cut through hot iron), A soft answer turneth away wrath.

It stands to reason that the allegorical sense is much more latent than the literal in any proverb. The same applies to fables and fairy tales. The literal sense is immediately obvious and can be readily understood. It, therefore, follows that when the allegorical interpretation of a proverb is more obvious than the literal one, then that particular proverb must be regarded as primarily figurative.

VIII

FIGURATIVE USE OF LANGUAGE

VIII

FIGURATIVE USE OF LANGUAGE

1. AN OUTLINE OF THE STUDY.
   - (i) Poetic language.
   - (ii) Value of Imagination.
   - (iii) National Conception of Figures
   - (iv) Suggestiveness.
   - (v) Figures as modes of Semantic Appeal.

1. i. Poetic Language.

Hindi is a spoken as well as a literary language. It is the speech alike of the layman, scientist and the poet. As the speech of the scientist and the philosopher, it is dominated by specific terms for the description of which a layman would require many round-about phrases. The thoughts of the uneducated man are not all crystallised and his terminology is, consequently, usually non-specific. We have noted how differentiation of synonyms, specialization of meaning, retrenchment of ambiguous terms and definition of vocabulary form the characteristic tendencies of the scientific Hindi. The scientist, the lawyer, the logician and the philosopher must say things in perspicuous and unequivocal terms. The layman is concerned about expressing his ideas in terms that do not involve labour or affectation on his part.

Poetic expression, however, depends not so much upon what is said but upon how beautifully a thing is said. Poetic expression is "the best expression of the best thought of a people".* It is in the way of putting ideas charmingly that literature or Kávya lies. Literature means a unification (Sáhitya, from sahita-, literally 'togetherness') of sound and sense,—a poetic harmony, the beautiful appropriateness, the perfect mutual understanding, the well-adjusted and harmonized combination, of sound and sense. In literature, written or unwritten, dialectical or standard, we reach the finest stage of language.

It is understood that the main object of literature is to stimulate, edify or entertain. This stimulation, edification or entertainment arises from poetic beauty which consists in expressing not boldly and in a humdrum manner but imaginatively, giving the idea a hiding and a revelation through deft suggestion. Imagination and expressional deviation from the chief characteristics of poetic language.

1. ii. Value of Imagination.

Figurative expression, though characteristic of literature, is a quality of all language. Every man has poetic faculty and literary moods. In all languages, even the most uncultured, the figurative use of words is one of the most natural efforts towards expression.

A term, the use of which is based on imagery, contributes to clearness especially when the language lacks a literal word for the idea, as when we speak of **tez dhúp** (lit. sharp sun), **kaṛá jáṛá** (hard cold) or **úṅcá vicár** (high thought). We have seen in Chapter V that the figurative use of words is an important cause of semantic change. Such a use is necessary for linguistic development. Without this aid, language would have remained a starkly limited process. Without it there would have been meaning but not the evolution of meaning. But for this, language could never have developed into the formidable instrument that now enslaves, endangers, and yet exalts and magnifies humanity.†

Figures of speech as images vividly present sound and sense.

Encyclopædia Britannica—under 'Literature'.
†*Goldberg, p. 70.*

They attract attention and directly impress the mind. They give a brilliant and fascinating aspect to literature. They are used for the sake of vividness, emphasis and effect. We call a man 'an ass', or call him **mīṭhā,** sweet, or **kaṛā,** hard, for emphasis and also to call up emotions associated with the literal meaning of the words.

Language is to express our thoughts to others. They can, of course, be expressed even in the plain language. But the addition of illustrative images would put extra force into our language.
Compare—

yah āsān kām nahīṅ, it is not an easy task, and **khālā jī kā ghar nahīṅ,** it is not the aunt's house, or **yah to pahāṛ sā mālūm hotā hai,** it looks like a mountain.

tul'sī kā hindī sāhitya meṅ baṛā nām hai, Tulsi is famous in Hindi literature and **tul'sī hindī sāhitya gagan ke candramā haiṅ,** Tulsi is the moon of the sky of Hindi literature, or even **tul'sī hindī sāhitya meṅ camak'te haiṅ,** Tulsi shines in Hindi literature.

The expression **rakkho meli kapūr meṅ hiṅg na hot sugandha,** even if you keep asafoetida mixed in camphor, it will not become fragrant, is certainly more forceful than **hiṅg kabhī ap'nī durgandha nahīṅ choṛ'tī,** does not give up its bad smell at all.

1. iii. National Conception of Figures.

Figurative language is national. While all languages employ beautiful and imaginative expressions, they, by no means, employ the same terms or the same figures.
Compare—

H. **sūī kī nāk,** nose of a needle, and Eng. 'eye of a needle'.

H. **āj'kal to āp'kī pāṅcoṅ ghī meṅ haiṅ,** and Eng. 'Your bread is buttered on both sides.'

H. **ūṅcī āvāj,** high voice, Eng. 'loud voice', also 'high notes'.

H. **yah rupayā nahīṅ bol'tā,** Eng. 'This rupee has no ring'.

H. **khaṭiyā kā pāyā,** foot of a bed, Eng. 'leg of a bed'.

In Sanskrit there are some strange metaphors at which some English critics evince surprise, e. g. **asilatā,** the creeper-like sword, **citācakra,** the wheel of the funeral pyre.

Some similarities of expression are interesting.

Compare—

miṭhe vacan, Eng. 'sweet words',
áre ke dánt, Eng. 'teeth of the saw',
úńce vicár, high thoughts.
páni kí caddar, sheet of water.
bhed khol'ná, to open a secret, etc.

It is a vast subject by itself and we leave it to the comparativist. In this chapter we shall define the scope of imaginative language in Hindi.

1. iv. Suggestiveness.

Another important characteristic of poetic language, we have said, is its suggestiveness or expressional deviation. In **guláb kí paṅkhuṛí se sharír par kharońc lag jáy'gí,** your body may be bruised by a rose-petal, it is suggested that the person addressed is extremely delicate. In these words of Rávaṇa to Ráma, **nahíń khar dúṣaṇ, báli mārń, rávaṇ tribhuvan vír,** it is not Khara, Dúṣaṇa or Báli: It is Rávaṇa, the brave, it is suggested that Ráma could easily defeat those ordinary people, but it would not be so in the case of Rávaṇa who claims to be invincible.

This does not mean that semantic deviation or turn of expression is the essential quality of a figure of speech as Mahimabhaṭṭa would lead us to believe. Certain types of direct style are as beautiful as any of the 'turns'. The Shabdas of Súr, a number of Tulsí's Cāmpáis and Dohás, some Kuṇḍalís of Giridhara, Dohás of Rahím and Kabír and the poetry of Prasád, Pant or Nirálá contain some masterpieces of the terse style in Hindi. So also the prose of Dwivediji, Varmá, Nágar or Agyeya. Figures of speech are meant to be used, not for their own sake, but for the sake of force, clarity and emotional appeal. The one and the only purpose of style is to convey a desired meaning in the most befitting way. And who can deny that sometimes more meaning is understood from plain speech than from figurative language? The relative goodness of any two modes of expressing an idea may be determined by observing which requires the shortest process of thought for the delineation and comprehension of an emotion.

piyá bini sáṅpini káli rát (without the dear one, the dark

night is a snake) is certainly more forceful than any plain statement could be. On the other hand, the following sentence contains figures but no meaning—

us nar'sińh ne desh kí nāūká ko kandhoń par uṭháyá āūr tyág ká púrṇa paricay diyá. (That lion-man lifted the ship of the country on his shoulders and gave a full proof of his sacrifice).

1. v. Figures as modes of Semantic Appeal.

It is in the light of semantic importance that figures of speech must be evaluated. Semantics deals with figures in so far as they contribute to the formation of meaning, and in this connection the borders of Rhetorics and Semantics meet. Much work has been done on figures of speech from the point of view of a rhetorician. Here we shall take up only broad features and describe the sematological aspects of some of the typical figures with reference to the questions raised above. Figures as various modes of semantic impressiveness may be classified under two headings :

(1) Those in which phonetic euphony is predominant, i.e., the Shabdálańkáras or Figures of Sound. They are characterized by a musical attraction, and by this quality they impress even children. They will be discussed in the following section.

(2) Those in which sense is predominant, i.e., the Arthálańkáras or Figures of Sense. These may further be divided into two categories—

(a) Those in which imagery has the chief roll, and

(b) Those which are dominated by suggestiveness or expressional deviation.

Each of these classes may be further assessed according to its semantic appeal. Some figures, we shall see, give rise to delicate suggestions, some thrill and persuade by appealing to emotions, and some are characterized by a literary jugglery which primarily entertains the poet himself and secondarily the audiences of his own type.

It will be noticed in the following sections that the same figures may be employed effectively for emotional appeal as well as to demonstrate literary feats. It has, however, to be remembered that the relative emotionalism of a figure depends largely upon the intellectual capacity of the listener. The poetry in Braj is certainly

richer in figures of speech than modern poetry in Standard Hindi, and it cannot be denied that our poetry had been gradually losing in pathos and passion until the times of the poet Prasad in the second quarterly of the present century when mystic poetry evolved new figures and symbolic expressions. In recent years experimentalist writers, called New Writers, have given a large number of original figures, but they are either too artful or too obscure to be effective. It is really regrettable that we cannot find in modern literature the stimulating and powerful verses of the type of Bihari's couplets, or Toṣanidhi's stanzas, or Sur's songs, or Mira's lyrics. Our prose is comparatively poor in figures. That has made poetry the leader of prose. For effectiveness, clearness and force, we always find poetry quoted in prose.

2. PHONETIC MODES OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS

(i) ALLITERATION.
(ii) REPETITION.
(iii) ANALOGUE.
(iv) PARONOMASIA.

2. i. Alliteration.

We have discussed in the chapter on "Sound and Meaning" that the structure of a word as relying on particular sounds or letters has a purpose. The sound-effects of an expression also help in the realization of meaning. The first impression produced by the sounds on hearing or reading stands to the last. We know how in poetry or prose the recitation of sounds creates various emotions. ALLITERATION (**anuprás**) produces harmony of word and meaning, sweetness, effect, emphasis and vividness. Note the delicate feelings expressed in **lah'rat lahar lahariyá ajab bahár** (The waves move and the wavy season is wonderful).

The repetition of [ṭ] intensifies hard feelings in—

tāū lagi yá man-sadan meṅ hari ávāīṅ kehi báṭ.
vikaṭ juṭāī jāū lagi nipaṭ khuṭāī na kapaṭ kapáṭ.

(God will not enter the temple of heart until the portals of treachery are not removed).

The brave sentiments are emphasized in the repetition of aspirated sounds in—

áyā juddhabhúmi meń sannaddha bar-bír kruddha
ruddhabuddhi hvā hvā rahā viruddha dal'váre hālá.

(The angry warrior came to the battlefield. And the enemies began losing their wits.)

In the following, the alliteration of sweet sounds helps in arousing the sentiment of love and the musical combination of sounds enhances the effect intended—

prem vibas manu, kampa pulak tanu, níraj nayan nír
bhare piy ke.

(The heart is subjected to love, the body is trembling with horripilation, and the lotus-eyes of the dear one are filled with tears).

The same emotional effects may be noted in the following from some Hindi Folk-songs—

jhil'mil bahelá bayár pavan bhal ḍoli rahí
ḍole nāraṅgiyá ke ḍár koiliyá kuhuk rahí.

(The bracing breeze is blowing, the branch of the mango tree is waving and the Koel bird is singing.)

botal baraṅḍí tú mat pí pyáre.

(Do not drink brandy wine, O Dear.)

Often, Alliteration is simply a poetical jugglery and mere verbosity.

Compare—

param puṇya ká puńj ṭúṭ'ne hí válá hā.

(The mass of high merits is going to break.)

kyoń kṣudratá kí cháp chátí par chapí,

(Why is there the stamp of meanness on heart ?)

kaun gun gāurav ko laṅgar lagávā jab.

(Who will put anchor to our glory ?)

The element of emotional appeal in such alliterations is very meagre, indeed.

2. ii. Repetition.

Repetition of words,* we have noted in the second chapter, adds

*punarukti-prakásh (*Elucidation by Repetition*).

an extra meaning, some special force or intensity, as **míṭhe míṭhe,** very sweet, **ṭhāūr ṭhāūr,** everywhere, **bár bár,** several times, **já já kar,** having gone continuously.

Sometimes, the repetition suggests particular emotions and conveys a new meaning,* as **chí chí** means 'get away' or 'I hate it', **háy háy** means 'alas', **re re rávaṇ** means 'O, you hateful Rávana', **rám rám** denotes 'greetings', and in **prabhuvar, yah há há kíjiye kop sháṇta** (O lord, your anger, please, assuage), the repetition of words suggests a passionate feeling.

Sometimes, repetition is more apparent than real as in SEEMING TAUTOLOGY **(punaruktavadábhás).**

In **puni phiri rám nikaṭ so áí** and **alí bhāūr guńjan lage hon lage dal'pát,** the synonymous words **puni** and **phiri** (again), **bhāūr** and **alí** (bee), and **dal** and **pát** (leaves) suggest that the same meanings have, perhaps, been repeated, but on a closer analysis and realization of the polysemic nature of **phiri, alí** and **pát,** the expressions become clear. Here they mean 'returning', 'O friend', 'fall' respectively. **punaruktavadábhás** is a figure of literary jugglery based on synonymy and polysemy.

In another figure called EXPRESSIVE TAUTOLOGY **(láṭánuprás)** for its being a peculiar type of expression of the people in Láṭa (Gujrat), though the repetition of words is essentially a show of literary jugglery, it suggests additional feelings. Compare **manuṣya hāī vahí ki jo manuṣya ke liye mare** (Man is he who dies for a man), where the first **manuṣya** means 'an ideal man' or 'a true man'.

parádhín jo jan, nahíń svarga narak tá hetu
parádhín jo jan nahíń, svarga narak tá hetu.
(He who is a slave, heaven is *not* for him: It is hell.
He who is *not* a slave, hell is heaven for him.)

Here note that a slight difference in punctuation implies such a vast difference in meaning. Also note the suggestiveness of meaning in—

pút saṗút káhe dhan saṁcay ?
pút kaṗút káhe dhan saṁcay ?

The repetition of sounds or words is, certainly, not without semantic excellence. There is no use of amassing wealth if the son

*vípsálaṁkár (*Successive Repetition*).

is good, because, he would never be lacking money. His merits would make him rich. There is no use hoarding money if the son is bad because he would waste it away in no time.

RHETORIC REPLY **(citrottar)** is similarly effected by repetition, as in—

Skt. **kam balavantam shíto na vádhate? kambalavantam shíto na vádhate.** Whom does winter not affect? It does not affect a man with blanket.

and H. **tát kahán te páti ái? tát ke hán te páti ái.** (Darling, from whom is this letter? It is from a dear one.)

It may also be noted that such a repetition also forms an amusing source of ambiguity. Semantic impression becomes vivid only when the repetition is differentiated by intonation.

2. iii. Analogue.

The figure of speech called ANALOGUE **(yamak)** is also a case of literary jugglery based on polysemy, including homonymy. Examples—

vah nit kal'pátá hai mujhe kánta hoke.
jis bin kal pátá hai nahín prán merá.

Here **kal'pátá** (torments) is broken into **kal pátá** (takes rest) in the second line and made a homonym.

In **ján'kí dehu to ján kí khair** (Return Janaki if you want the welfare of your life), the Analogue is based on the homonymy of **ján'kí** (Sita) and **ján kí** (of life).

lothani pai lothani kí bhíti uthi jáy'gí
bhúp dur'jodhan kí bhíti uthi jáy'gí

contains **bhíti** meaning 'wall' or 'heap' in the first line and 'terror' in the second.

kanak = gold and thorn-apple in **kanak kanak te sunguní**
mádak'tá adhikáy.

In **ankh lag'tí hai tab ankh lag'tí hí nahín** (When the eye is enamoured it has no sleep), note how the two meanings of the idiom **ankh lag'ná**, to love, and to sleep, have been used with effect.

It may be noticed from the above examples that the basic polysemy in each case rouses two images, though only so when the homonymy, at the surface, is intelligible. The semantic effectiveness

is consummated only when this double imagery is awakened. The surface homonymy is a clever play on words which borders on amusement, and the roll of imagination in this semantic effectiveness depends upon a penetration into homonymy.

It may also be pointed out that the repetition of words or groups of words in 2. ii. above gives an identical meaning obviously but a different meaning by suggestion only. In Analogue, on the other hand, the repeated words are intentionally and obviously used polysemantically.

2. iv. Paronomasia.

PARONOMASIA or Pun is a polysemantic expression which gives two ideas in one form. It is a favourite and learned type of literary play on words, though instances of puns in common speech are not lacking for which vide the section on Ambiguity in Chapter III. Examples—

vipul dhan anekoń ratna ho sáth láye.
priy'tam bat'lá do lál merá kahán haĩ?

lál, in the above, means 'a ruby' as well as 'a son'. See how appropriate the use is: "Considering that you have brought so many precious stones (things), you must have brought my ruby or my diamond (i.e., my son) as well."

jo rahím gati díp kí, kul kapút gati soi.
báre ujiyáro kare, baṛhe aṅdhero hoi.

The nature of a lamp is identical with that of a bad son. The one gives light when burnt **(báre),** and the other gives light in childhood **(báre)** (Skt. **bályakále).** It is darkness when the one is extinguished and it is darkness when the other grows.

By Paronomasia the poet attempts to set up similarity between two ideas. The imagination makes them identical in general and yet diversified in finer details. This identity in diversity is expressed in the form of a pun which, when clearly understood, leads to the realization of Meaning or Rasa.

In common speech, pun is frequently employed in light talk. There are people who have a special knack of deriving pun where none is intended by the speaker. Scientific and technical language usually avoids paronomatical forms.

3. METAPHOR AS A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS.

(i) Analogy.
(ii) Metaphors.
(iii) Abstraction in Metaphor.
(iv) Live and Dead Metaphor.
(v) The Force of Metaphor.
(vi) Additional Modes of Analogy.
(vii) Contrast.

3. i. Analogy.

There are three important means of explaining the meaning of a given word, namely, translation, demonstration and illustration. Suppose we were to tell a person what 'cream' is. We could translate the word into another language in the manner of our bilingual dictionaries and say that cream is **malái**. But as it is not possible to translate all words, and meanings being national in character, we may resort to demonstration (showing face-cream or dental cream, for which it may be difficult to give an exact equivalent). But we can only thus indicate or represent objects or actions that can be perceived by the senses and which are easily available to the interpreter and the listener. There are certain concepts or ideas that are incapable of indication or representation. Suppose, we were to explain the difference between **dhár'ṇá**, concentration, and **dhyán**, meditation. We may, either, employ analogy or, as mathematicians call it, proportion, from sensible things to things which cannot be seen. Again, we may describe a scene in plain language or an object in descriptive and analytical terms, but if we feel we are not understood, we have to bring in illustrative images and multiply our comparisons.

If imagination implies the power to bring things before our mind that are not before us, or to see them differently from others or from ourselves at times, Simile and Metaphor would constitute the best products of imagination and the best means of technical explanation. There is no wonder that they should be considered as the most important figures especially in literature. They have a direct effect and intellectual and emotional appeal.

3. ii. Metaphors.

It may be pointed out at once that there is no fundamental difference between simile and metaphor; their difference is only formal. Metaphor is nothing but the finest type of incomplete simile. It is a simile without the comparative word (**jaisá, sá,** like) and the common attribute, and denotes identification rather than comparison of two objects. It is born from the instantaneous glimpse of similarity between two objects or two acts. Metaphor, says Aristotle, "is the special mark of genius, for the power of making a good metaphor is the power of recognising likeness. It involves the transference of a name from one object to another which strikes the mind as in some way or other participating in the peculiarities of that object.

We have already noted in the fifth chapter the part played by metaphors in the variation of meaning. A review of their sematology may be given here.

The following categories of application have been noted:

A. Words from animate beings may be transferred to inanimate objects and even abstract things, as—

galá in **ghaṛe ká galá,** neck of the jar
coṭí in **paháṛ kí coṭí,** top of the hill
áṅkh in **úkh kí áṅkh,** eye of the sugarcane
dáṅt in **áre ke dáṅt,** teeth of the saw
kán in **sitár ke kán,** ears of the guitar
andha in **andhakúp,** blind well. Compare Eng. 'blind alley.'
andhá prem, blind love, **bát kí ṭáṅg,** leg of a talk, **bát ká sir na pair,** this matter has neither head nor feet.

In such cases the word comes to be polynymous. The metaphorical sense of a word is generally intelligible by the context, especially and chiefly by the addition of a determinant.

B. Names of limbs of human body may be transferred to mean measures, as—

páṅc háth, five hands (a hand = 1/2 yd.).
cár uṅg'lí, four fingers (finger = 1/2 inch).

Compare 'foot' from Eng. in **tín phut,** three feet.

It may be noted that in discovering identities and similarities

man measures things by himself. Man is the known, the familiar, by which the unknown and the unfamiliar begin to receive definition. That is why we have so many somatic metaphors.

C. Besides somatic metaphors, we borrow metaphors from trades, professions, animal life and, particularly, nature. Compare words in—

patáṅg kí dum, tail of a kite, **játiratna,** jewel of the nation, **nadí kí shákhá,** branch of a river, **saṁsár ságar,** the ocean-world, **bát tol'ná,** to weigh a saying, **pání kí caddar,** a sheet of water.

D. Metaphors may be due to similarity of

(1) Form, as in **miṭhái ká pahár,** a mountain of sweetmeat, **bandúk ká ghoṛá,** the horse of a gun, **kur'sí kí ṭáṅg,** leg of a chair.

(2) Quality, as in **gambhír svar,** deep voice, **tíkṣṇa buddhi,** sharp intellect, **úṁcá shabda,** high sound.

(3) Action, as in **tol'kar bolo,** weigh and speak, **jí jal'ná,** burning of the heart.

3. iii. Abstraction in Metaphor.

We have already noted (under Important Variations, Idioms and Usages) that abstract words had originally a material meaning. More examples of transference of material to abstract concepts are—

gyán ká álok, light of knowledge
kál ká srot, the stream of time
lah'rá, shower of rain, tune, enjoyment
shúl, thorn, pain
khaṛí bolí, standing (standard) language
kaṛí coṭ, hard hit
kaṛí samasyá, hard problem
tíkhí bolí, sharp speech
miṭhí bátoṁ, sweet words
gaṁdí bát, dirty word
soc'ná (lit. to clean), to think
bújh'ná (lit. to wake up), to know
khánáá (to eat), to embezzle
gir'ná (to fall), to deteriorate.

3. iv. Live and Dead Metaphors.

W. B. Fowler and H. W. Fowler (S. P. E. Tract 21) divide metaphors into two classes—live and dead—dead because the speaker and hearer have ceased to be aware that the words are not literal. When a metaphor is used very commonly, its figurative nature is lost and it is understood directly in its secondary sense. The radical metaphors of Max Muller (Lectures on the Science of Language) are all of this type.

Examples—

gokh'rú (lit. cow's hoof), a medicine
gobhí (lit. cow's tongue), cauliflower
kan'kauá (a crow with ears), kite
kukur'muttá (dog's urine), mushroom.

Also note **soc'ná** and **bújh'ná** above.

Live metaphors are more distinct in their metaphorical signification, as—

til (sesamum seed), mole
put'lí (puppet), apple of eye
mukh'candra, moon-face
práṇ-pakherú, life-bird
jívan kí nadí, the stream of life
dukh ká samudra, ocean of misery
ahińsá ká shastra, the weapon of non-violence.

Some of these metaphors are a living memorial of the quick perception, the deep insight and poetic imagination of our common folk as well as of the poets.

3. v. The Force of Metaphor.

Metaphors are the effect of economy of speech, and as they are picturesque, accurate and impressive they may be employed for (a) irony, as in **bag'lá bhakta,** a heron-like devotee, **sasurál** (the house of father-in-law), jail, (b) endearment as in **merá cánd,** my moon, **merá lál,** my gem, or (c) abuse as in **suar,** swine, **gadhá,** ass, **kuttá,** dog, etc.

Thus we find that metaphor is an important force of meaning-change. It is also an important cause of polysemy and synonymy. It is one of the most powerful engines in the construction of human speech and without it we can hardly imagine how any language

could have progressed beyond the simplest rudiments. No advance was possible in the intellectual life of man without metaphors, the coining of metaphors being a means to our stock of words. Metaphor is the chief instrument of invention in Semantics.

Generally a metaphor is used for clearness and emotional effect. That is why it is so popular and pervasive. Varied, indeed, are the sentiments depicted by means of metaphorical imagery. There is close relationship between imagery and sentiment. The stronger the feeling, the richer the imageries. Examples, in abundance, will be found in the poetry of Súr, Tulsí, Bihari, Dev, Hariaudh, Prasád, Pant, Nirálá, Mahádeví, or any other Hindi poet.

3. vi. Additional Modes of Analogy.

A large number of figures mentioned by our Indian Poeticians are based on analogy. They are various forms of metaphor and evince fine shades of meaning. In these, the emotional appeal lies in the quality of the metaphor itself rather than in the kind of expression. These forms have arisen as various juggleries of the poetic mind.

In some, however, there is very little semantic peculiarity, and they are used for poetic rather than semantic effect. For example—

(a) REVERSED METAPHOR **(pariṇám)** differs from Metaphor only in form. There is no difference in the meaning of **caraṇ kamal** (feet lotus) or **kamal caraṇ** (lotus-feet), lotus-like feet, **locan kañj** (eye-lotus) or **kamal nayan** (lotus-eyes).

(b) The formal difference between THE UNRELATED **(ananvay)** and REVERSED SIMILE **(pratíp)** is great, but the semantic effect is the same. In **rám rám ke samán hālá** (Ráma is like Ráma) or **rám rám hí hālá** (Ráma is Ráma), the idea suggested is that we cannot find any person or object similar to Ráma. The effect of the figure is to place Ráma at a very high level, while analogy would have lowered him. Reversed Simile serves the same purpose. When we say that Ráma is firm like the Himalayas (using Simile), we feel suggestively that the mountain has ideal firmness. On the other hand, we give Ráma a higher degree of firmness by using the Reversed Simile, i.e. the mountain looks glorified like Ráma, or as in—

avani! himádri! samudra! jani karahu vrthá abhimán.

shánta dhír gambhír hāīń tum sam rám suján.

(O Earth, O Himalayas, O Ocean! Do not boast invain. Rama is as forbearing, as firm and as deep as you are).

Although grammatically Ráma and the earth are equally calm, Ráma and the Himalayas are equally firm, Ráma and the ocean are equally deep, semantically the earth, the Himalayas and the ocean lose their position because they are not matchless.

(c) RHETORIC DOUBT **(sandeh)**, POETIC MISTAKE **(bhránti)**, CERTAINTY **(nishcay)**, FIGURE OF MEMORY **(smaraṇ)**, and POETIC FANCY **(utprekṣá)**, are related figures. The difference between them lies in the form of analogy rather than in the meaning. (1) When we say; **is bálak ko dekh'kar mujhe ap'ná svargíya beṭá yád á gayá** (on seeing this boy, I am reminded of my dead son, we actually compare the two boys and mean that they have similar qualities. Memory may, of course, be revived not only by seeing or experiencing similar but also dissimilar objects. **chaṭhí ká dúdh yád áná** (to remember happy days of babyhood) is generally used in times of difficulty. An old man may be reminded of his youth which he regretfully compares with his present age. Memory may also revive any other associated ideas, as in—

jo pátí húń kuńvar var ke jog māīń bhog pyárá
to hotí hāīń hrday tal meń ved'náyeń anekoń.

"Whenever I get a dainty fit for my dear son, many a pain arises in my heart," says Yashodhá.

The suggestive power of the figure is due to comparison or contrast which is another form of analogy, as we shall see in the next item.

(2) The same kind of analogy is suggested in the figure of Doubt. Note also that it manages to give more than one metaphor at a time.

kajjal ke kúṭ par díp shikhá sotí hāī—ki shyám ghanmaṇḍal meń dáminí kí dhárá hāī.

The parting of the beloved's hair is suspected to be either a flame of light on a mound of collyrium or a streak of lightning in the dark clouds. The poet, in fact, accepts both these similarities. The doubt is only assumed.

(3) Rhetoric Mistake is another figure of poetic jugglery. In

fact, all metaphor is a mistake, but a bhrántikár expresses that mistake and means the metaphor.

Example—

ghan-rav hari-rav ján ke mat'váro mrg'rái
laṛan calyāṅ páche phiryāṅ nahiń jab koi lakhái.

The lion mistakes the rumbling of a cloud as the roar of another lion and is thereby excited. Here the rumbling of a cloud is, in fact, compared to the roar of a lion. For the 'lord of beasts' it is a lion's roar.

(4) Ascertainment simply removes the mistake. But it suggests a metaphor all the same. In **hāīń garaj'te ghan nahíń baj'te nagáre,** it is ascertained that is was rumbling of clouds and not the sound of drums. Anyhow, it is suggested that clouds did sound like drums.

(5) Poetic Fancy is nearer to the form of metaphor than any of the above.

kaṇṭha jab ruńdh'tá hāī tab kuch rotí húń
hońge gat janma ke hí māīl unheń dhotí húń.

(By tears I wash the dirt of my past lives, as it were). The relieving power of tears is described metaphorically.

(d) Sometimes a composite idea may be compared to another idea, as by ILLUSTRATION **(nidarshaná),** EXEMPLIFICATION **(udáharaṇ),** PARALLEL **(drṣṭánta),** PARALLEL SIMILE **(prativastúpamá)** and EXPANSION **(arthántarnyás).** The purpose of all these figures is to substantiate a given proposition by comparison. There is no material difference in the semantic effect of these modes of expression.

Compare—

nidarshaná in **jo múrkhoń ko sam'jhátá hāī vah bálú se tel nikál'ne ká prayatna kar'tá hāī** (He who makes a fool understand things, tries to extract oil from sand), which means nothing more than suggesting the impossibility of the two identical propositions.

udáharaṇ in **níkí pāī phíkí lagāī bin av'sar kí bát**
jāīse bar'nat yuddha meń ras shrńgár na suhát.

(Even a good talk is not relished when it is out of place, just as a sentiment of love is not appreciated in war.)

drṣṭánta in **pápí manuj bhí bháj muńh se rám nám nikál'te**

dekho bhayaṅkar bheṛiye bhí áj áṅsú ḍhál'te.

Here the behaviour of sinful persons has been described as similar to that of dreadful wolves.

prativastúpamá in **shaṭh sudh'rahiṅ satsaṅgati páí,**
páras parasi kudhátu suhái.

(The effect of good society on a wicked person is the same as that of the philosopher's stone on a bad metal.)

arthántarnyás in **hari giri dháryo satpuruṣ bhár sahe jyoṅ sheṣ** (Kṛṣṇa carried the mountain as the good men carry the burden of responsibility and as the Sheṣa serpant bears the burden of the earth.)

We leave the technicalities of these figures to the poetician. To a student of Semantics, anyhow, their emotional appeal does not present any variety or distinctive quality.

3. vii. Contrast.

Contrast is only another phase of comparison. The figures in which contrast occurs as logical factor may be classified under two headings—(A) Figures which contrast two contradictory attributes, objects or ideas, and (B) Figures of paradox in which contradiction is only apparent and not real.

A. The figures of contradiction are, generally, predominated by emphasis and emotional appeal.

Compare—

(a) INCOMPATIBILITY (**viṣam**) in **kaháṅ rám ke komal kar hāiṅ kaháṅ kaṭhor sharásan shiv ká.** By creating this contrast, the writer intends to heighten the effect of Ráma's brave deed. It suggests that it was difficult for Ráma with such delicate hands to wield that bow, and if he could do it, it must be due to some superhuman power in him.

práṇ'priye tú nikaṭ teṅ ánanda det apár
par tere hí virah kí táp karat tan chár.

The truth of one statement is borne out by the other by contrast. It suggests that the presence of the beloved must be really pleasant because her absence is so killing, and separation from her must be unbearable on account of the extreme happiness derived from her

very presence.

(b) NON-CONFORMITY (**atadguṇ**) in **rákhīm meli kapúr meṅ hiṅg na hot sugandha** (Even if you mix asafoetida with camphor, it will not be fragrant) is certainly more forceful than the simple statement **hiṅg meṅ bahut durgandha hoti hāi**.

(c) ANTITHESIS (**virodh**) in **mohi nipaṭ miṭhi lage, vah teri kaṭu bát.** Though it is impossible to expect bitter words to be 'sweet', the emotional effect of such an expression is great.

candramukhi tum bin bhai jvalámukhi samán, The moon-faced beloved, without you, is like a volcano. The suggestive meaning is clear.

vá vir'hin ko cánd'ni, lágati hāi janu ghám, To the lady separated from her lover, the moonlight looks like the sunshine (on account of its scorchingly painful effect).

(d) DISCARDMENT (**tiraskár**) in—

biná mán taj dijiye, svargahuṅ sukrt samet.
rahāi mán tīn kijiye, narak'huṅ nitya niket.

Heaven without respect is contrasted against hell with respect and the former is discarded. The suggestion is clear and impressive.

B. The *paradoxical figures* are figures of jugglery. They do suggest a feeling and an effect, but the veil of mystery over them qualifies the emotional appeal.

Examples—

(a) PARADOX (**virodhábhás**) in—

ráj'ghát par pul baṅdhat jahaṅ kulín ki ḍheri
áj gaye kal dekhikāi ájahiṅ lauṭe pheri.

Here **kal** at first produces confusion and obscurity. But on a closer thought it is discovered, as suggested by the incompatibility of meaning, that **kal** means 'a machine' and not 'to-morrow'.

(b) INCONGRUITY (**asaṅgati**) in—

tum'ne pāiroṅ par lagái mehaṅdi, meri áṅkhoṅ meṅ samái mehaṅdi.

Apparently, it is absurd to talk of applying hena in eyes. But when we consider the implied sense of the words, the absurdity is at once removed. **áṅkhoṅ meṅ samáṅá** is an idiom meaning 'to like'.

(c) STRANGE PARADOX (**visheṣokti**) in—

rúp sudhápán se na nek'hú huí hāi kam,

pratyut huí hāl tívra kālsí yah pyás hāl.

Nectar must quench thirst, but the nectar of beauty keeps the lover's thirst ever fresh.

dekho do do nāln baras'te māh pyásí kí pyásí.

Clouds must shower water which quenches thirst. But, here two clouds (eyes) are showering water, and even then it is not possible to quench thirst.

Note that emotional appeal in **visheṣokti** is more direct than in the other figures of paradox.

(d) CONCEPTION (**vibháv'ná**) in **bin pad calāl sunāl bin káná** (He walks without feet and listens without ears). Although experience shows that it is not possible for any being to walk without legs and hear without ears, the incompatability of the expression is removed when we understand the conception of God and His omnipotence.

Also compare—

kám kusum dhanu sáyak línheń
sakal bhuvan ap'ne bas kínheń.

(Cupid, with his arrows of flowers, has subdued the whole universe).

4. SUGGESTIVENESS AS A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS

(i) Emotionalism.
(ii) Literary Juggery

We have discussed at length the force of circumlocution in changing the meaning of words. Here we shall deal with the general form of suggestiveness as a means of semantic effectiveness in literature. Suggestiveness by itself is an excellence of style. The best stylist selects just a few particulars which imply the rest. Suggestiveness is an effective means of economy. That is why Synecdoche, Metonymy, Metaphor and turns of expression are considered to be the best of figures of speech. Metaphor is most important because men find more interest in catching the resemblance for themselves than in having it pointed out to them as in Simile. Kuntala recognises suggestiveness as the only quality of a figure. Every figure is, indeed, a turn of expression.

4. i. Emotionalism.

Suggestiveness is the real force, the emotional quality of style. Compare **mãĩ sukumári náth ban jogú** (I am delicate, Oh, and my lord is fit for forest !), by which Sítá suggests that Ráma is as delicate as she is. If he is going to the forest, she must not remain behind.

The suggestion of extra emotion may be conveyed by means of a large variety of figures. Compare—

(a) IRONY (**vyáj'nindá**) in—

hãĩ ghúm'tá phir'tá samay tum kintú jyoń ke tyoń khaṛe phir bhí abhí tak jí rahe ho vír ho nishcay baṛe.

"You are brave on account of your stand-stillness" suggests that your attitude to life is extremely damnable. This kind of irony is more impressive than plain statement.

(b) ALLEGORY (**aprastut prashańsá**) in—

ab ap'ne logoń ko bas ek bár dekh lo (See your people for the last time) which at once suggests, besides the literal meaning, that 'your death is near'. The suggested sense is implied from the context.

cáhe súkhá paṛe vishva meń hańs na pítá gaḍḍhoń ká jal (Even if there is dearth of water, the royal swan will not drink out of a pond), the express sense of which is this : A great man should not stoop down to humility even in calamity. Here it may be noted that suggestiveness is strengthened by imagery.

(c) RHETORIC QUESTION (**gúṛh prashna**) in **kyá andhe ho gaye ho?** which means that your conduct is like that of a blind person. By asking **kahán gaye the?** the father may simply suggest to his son that his absence from the house has been noted.

(d) DENIAL (concealment or **apahnuti**) in **durgávatí sádhárań strí nahíń sákṣát durgá thí** i. e., Durgavati was not a woman but the goddess Durga incarnate. Here the real fact is denied and expressed metaphorically in order to enhance its effect and add on to the meaning.

(e) PERIPHRASIS (**paryáyokti**) is one of the common figures of speech. It is employed to avoid sentimental shocks. Many of our terms for 'death', 'disease', 'copulation', 'latrine', 'madness', and other undesirable ideas and objects, as we have already noted in a previous chapter, are euphemistic. Also note how different are the

terms applicable to bigger people from those used for persons of lower status, e. g., **is ásan ko alaṅkrt kíjiye** (adorn this seat), which simply means ' take this seat', or **tash'ríf le jáiye** (take away your goodness) for 'go'.

(f) THE EXALTED (**udátta**) in **ham ve log hāĩ jinhoṅ ne yav'noṅ, húṇoṅ, shakoṅ ádi anek játiyoṅ ko ap'ne andar khapá liyá**, i. e., We are those people who absorbed Greeks, Huns, Sakas and many other races. This suggests the missionary grandeur and racial superiority of the Aryans.

(g) The various hyperbolic figures are employed for their suggestive meaning, as in **jácak tere dán te bhaye kalpataru bhúp.** Although it may not be possible for the beggars to become desire-giving trees, the suggestion that the king is very generous is clear, indeed.

cale tumháre bán dhanuṣ se ripu sená ke práṇ cale (Here start your arrows, and there goes the life of the enemy) may not be literally true, yet the suggestion that the effect of his arrows is immediate, infallible and dreadful, is emphatic.

4. ii. Literary jugglery.

Such emphatic and emotional expressions are not very uncommon in colloquial and literary Hindi. Often, however, figures of suggestiveness are employed in literature to demonstrate feats of poetic jugglery rather than to depict or suggest any emotions. They are the result of too much emphasis on imagination and poetic frenzy which is far removed from realism.

Compare—

(a) EQUIVOQUE (**vakrokti**) in **ko tum? mádhav hmmá priye ! nahiṅ vasanta soṅ kám.**

Rádhá : Who are you ? (knocking at the gate outside)

Kṛṣṇa : It is Mádhava (name of Kṛṣṇa).

Rádhá : Then be away. I have nothing to do with spring (Mádhava).

This kind of play on words can amuse just a few intellectual persons. Otherwise, it is but a source of confusion and obscurity of meaning.

(b) CACOPHEMISM (**vyáj'stuti**) in **káshípurí kí kuriti burí**

jahaṅ deh diye puni deh na páiye, i.e., If one loses his body at Káshí, it cannot be recovered, at all. Káshí, then, must be a bad place, where things lost are lost forever. But the juggler poet has, in fact, shown that Káshí is praiseworthy because a man attains salvation there.

(c) RHETORIC REPLY (**gúṛhottar**) in **kah dash'kaṇṭha, kavan tāiṅ bandar ? maiṅ raghubír-dút dash'kandhar,** Hanumán is addressed as a 'monkey' and asked who he is. He replies: I am a messenger from Ráma. The suggestion, that Hanumán is a worthy representative of Ráma and able to accomplish a lot in spite of his being a monkey, is there but it is intelligible only to those who understand such tricks of jugglery in poetics.

(d) OPEN SPEECH (**vivrtokti**) in—

mere goras sadrsh kahuṅ, anat na paihau shyám.
bihańsi kahyo yoṅ catur sakhi, lehu calau mam dhám.

One of the Gopis says to Kṛṣṇa: Nowhere will you obtain butter of the quality obtainable in my house. She wants to tempt Kṛṣṇa. Her friend, however, discloses the real motive of the Gopi by saying, "O yes, come to my house" and also suggests that she also loves Kṛṣṇa.

All this is intelligible only to a person of highly critical sense.

(e) DENIAL (**apahnuti**) in **ye grah yah nakṣatra kuch nahiṅ nabh meṅ hańs'tí haĩ kuch dhúl,** i.e., There are no planets here in the sky: These are particles of dust smiling, which is all nonsense to a man in the street.

(f) PERSONIFICATION (**samásokti**) in—

vah ap'ní áṅkhoṅ ke mad se sínc rahí haĩ jag phul'várí
us'ke kabhí muskuráte hí hańs uṭh'tí haĩ kyárí kyárí.

Such a description of Nature acting like a gardener who waters the garden of life, exists in literature only.

(g) RHETORIC ENUMERATION (**gaṇ'ná**) is exclusively a figure of jugglery without any practical suggestion or poetic excellence. The figure is uncommon in literary writing but it is used in astronomy to conceal a fact which has a deep and untoward effect on the person concerned. Thus **us'kí áyu iṣushástra varṣa hogí** (his life is *arrow-philosophy* years) means that he would be 63 years of age.

In fact, the forms of literary jugglery mentioned by Indian rhetoricians are many. But they are just islets in the vast sea of Hindi language and literature.

5. VARIOUS MODES OF EXAGGERATION.

5. Various Modes of Exaggeration.

Daṇḍin believes that hyperbole is the basis of all figures of speech. In fact, all imaginative literature, all imaginative art—poetry, painting, music, sculpture—seems to be a process of veiling reality, a softening of the harshness and asperity of the phenomena of life, a suffusing the bare trunk with the light that never was on sea or land,—an exaggeration.

To imagine that a face is the moon (or even that it is like the moon), or that a foot is a lotus, whether this imagination is expressed as a doubt, mistake, confusion or certainty, is exaggeration, indeed. All simile or metaphor is, indeed, a hyperbolic expression.

The figures of Circumlocution are all hyperbolic. To call a bad person good **(vyáj'nindá)** and a good person bad **(vyáj'stuti)**, to conceal the truth (Euphemism and **vyájokti)**, to deny a fact **(apahnuti)**, to personify or animalize objects **(samásokti)**, etc., are just so many modes of exaggeration.

The figures of Contrast are generally based on hyperbole and false imagination. To imagine things that are contrary to experience **(vibháv'ná)**, to think of contradictions where there are none (Paradox), to find similarity in diversity or agreeability in incompatibility **(virodh)**, etc., are various types of exaggeration.

It is interesting to note the various levels of hyperbole in the above categories. Hyperbole is more prominent in metaphor than in circumlocution, and much more still in contrast. Besides these, there are figures of speech **mithyádhyavasati, atishayokti** (Exaggeration) and **atyukti,** in which hyperbole is most striking. It may be noticed that the quality of hyperbole varies with the quality of sentiment and meaning. It is more effective in depicting a sentiment of bravery or a hard feeling than any delicate idea. Compare—

is bhavan ke shikhar ákásh ko chúte hain (The tops of this building touch the sky);

or, **prán chuṭai prath'mai ripu kai raghunáyak sáyak chúṭ na páye** (Before the arrows of Ráma could shoot, the life of the enemy was out);

or, **jásu trás ḍar kahan ḍar hoi** (Even Fear is afraid of him).

A hackneyed hyperbole always loses its effect, as **atyanta sundar** (lit. limitlessly beautiful), means only very beautiful; **lákhoṅ ád'mí** (millions of men) may just come to imply hundreds of men; **mālá márá gayá** (lit. I am killed), I am in trouble.

6. MODES OF IMPRESSIVENESS IN FOLK LANGUAGE.

6. Modes of Impressiveness in Folk Language.

Rhetoricians have tried to analyse all types of expression from the simplest statement to the most exaggerated and circumlocutionary form of imagination. A literary juggler employs 1001 modes of expressing his ideas, his constant worry being to present them in the most beautiful and meaningful form. That is why poetry is more figurative than prose and literature more figurative than colloquial language.

Much is known about the types of figures used in Hindi literature. It would be interesting to find the main trends of the figurative language in folk literature.

A study of the Hindi folk-songs shows that Analogy plays the most important part in popular poetry as well as in poetic literature. Compare—

ab kí bár jo hari mor aihālá, hiy'rá ke khulihālá kapáṭ.

If my lover comes this time, the *doors of my heart* would open.

birah bithá tan lágat bán.

The arrows of separation strike my body.

pús más ghan paṛe tusár, rāin calāl jas khaṛag kí dhár.

The December night is cold and bitingly sharp like a sword.

biná prem ke manuj'vá jas aṅdhiyárí rát.

The heart without love is like dark night.

í dehiyáṅ taruvar kí chahiyáṅ.

This body is the shade of a tree.

Metaphor, Simile and Poetic Fancy are common. Instances of Poetic Mistake, Rhetoric Certainty, Illustration, Parallel, Exemplification are, however, rare. Contrast is used to create emotional effect and pathos, as in—

cári mandil cárí díp barāl ham'rá akel barāl.

In each of the houses all around are burning four lamps. But in mine there is only one.

ghar div'lá lesahiń nar nárí, merí ayodhyá paṛí aṅdhyárí.

People light lamps in their houses (on Diwali), but my Ayodhyá is all dark.

Of the figures of suggestiveness, Euphemism is used but sparingly. Compare—

sír ke senukhá dā̃v har le jáy.

God has removed the mark of vermilion from her head, i.e., she has become widow.

ham're karam'váń máń ihā̃ likhat hā̃ sejariyá má soún akeli.

I am doomed to sleep alone, which suggests that 'my husband is impotent'.

Exaggeration, Personification and Concretion are also employed. Examples—

ek karā̃lí ham bová, are karā̃lí pas'rí babā̃lyá jiu ke des.

I grew a creeper which spread to the land of my father.

í dukh báṅdhun bhaiyá ap'ní gaṭhariyá.

Pack this calamity in your bundle.

már ḍárā̃ń kaṭíli tor aṅkhiyáń.

Your sharp eyes kill me.

In this connection also note that exactly the same important figures have determined the formation and values of popular idioms.

The roll of euphony in folk-songs is negligible.

The employment of a figure is a question of propriety. A figure by itself has no virtue. It has to be relevant, helpful to develope a sentiment, and never an overgrowth hindering or making hideous the composition. Figures must agree with the mood and atmosphere of the sentiment. Even Metaphor would be appreciated only at times. Sometimes circumlocution would be most appropriate as in satire. A good figure of speech must lie consistent, and a good writer must select such figures as appeal to the emotional experience of everybody. If they demonstrate mere poetic jugglery and no emotion, it is better to discard them in favour of a simple, plain and direct composition. A pearl-garland can beautify only a full bosom, otherwise it cannot be a beautifying factor. Figures of speech without emotional appeal or suggestiveness and figures of speech in places which do not need them, are bad.

IX

SEMATOLOGY OF GRAMMAR

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1. FORM AND MEANING.

1. Form and Meaning.

It is a well-known fact that Grammar is mainly concerned with the formal aspect of language. But we must note that the form of a word, in a semi-grammatical and analytical language like Hindi, does not help to distinguish its function or meaning in the sentence. No word has a fixed meaning independent of the context. If we attempt to distinguish the parts of speech on the basis of form, we meet immediately with serious difficulties. This is true in all old languages in which there has been a large-scale phonetic decay, Chinese being an extreme case. Hindi shows no distinction of form between a large number of substantives and verbs, or between certain substantives and adjectives. Only the context can determine which is which.

Examples—

khel, play, **bol,** speak, speech, **bhúl,** forget, mistake.

baṛe, big, big people, **dalit,** depressed, depressed classes.

múrkha, fool, foolish.

acchá may be an adjective, meaning 'good', an adverb meaning 'well', or an interjection meaning 'very well, all right'. It may

express delight, approval, surprise or disappointment. There is nothing in the form of **aur** to show that it is a noun, pronoun, adjective or conjunction. It may mean 'others', 'another', 'more', 'else' or 'and', according as it functions in the context. Similarly, it is not the form but the meaning of **áge** as determined by the connected words in the following examples which makes it noun, adverb or postposition—

rájá ne bráhman ko áge se liyá (The king received the priest from the advance); **áge calo** (Go forward), and **makán ke áge** (Before the house).

That grammatical form alone is not the meaningful element of a word or sentence may be further explained by the following instances:

(i) **laṛ'kiyán** and **laṛ'kiyeń** (girls) have the same meaning.

(ii) **ṭhanḍí ág** (cold fire) and **garam barfa** (hot ice) are correct in form but absurd in meaning.

(iii) **kyoń nahín** (why not) is negative and interrogative in form but it means a positive 'yes'.

(iv) **mem sáhib,** lady, **choṭá strí** (the little woman), **ham játá hai** (I go) and **mere ko** (to me) are grammatically wrong but semantically quite sound and correct and popular, too.

The classification of words into parts of speech has a semantic rather than a grammatical importance. Parts of speech, as such, are not forms but values of the words. Compare the definitions below—

Noun is the name of a person, place, thing or quality. Adjective is a word that describes a noun. A verb denotes doing, being or happening, or as the Danish term "Udsagnsord" or the Sanskrit ákhyát suggests, it describes the state (of a noun) fully. An adverb is an additional word that describes. Conjunctions join two consecutive periods—words, clauses or sentences—and so on.

The sub-classes of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and other parts of speech are also named not after their form, but according to their signification in a sentence.

Though particular words tend to be particular parts of speech such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and so on, there is no rigid classification in practice. The same word may be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, a postposition or a verb according as it stands in semantic relation to other words in the sentence.

The use of a word, originally belonging to one part of speech, as a different part of speech is an important cause of semantic change. This would be illustrated at length in the following pages.

2. THE NOUN.

(i) Substantivizations.
(ii) Change of Semantic Function.
(iii) Kinds of Nouns.

2. i. Substantivizations.

It is very well known that the noun may also be signified by any other parts of speech. Here it is desired to bring out the semantic aspects of these substantivizations. Compare the change of meaning in the following—

(a) Pronouns—

maĩń (I), ego, pride, in **is 'maĩń' ko máro.**

tú (thou), an address of inferiority, in **'tú' se dús'roń ká jí dukh'tá haĩ.**

tú tú maĩń maĩń (thou and I) = bickering.

(b) Adjectives—

bhúkhá (hungry), a hungry person, in **bhúkhe ko anna do.**

mar'tá (dying), a dying man, in **mar'tá kyá na kar'tá.**

(c) Adverbs—

vahắń (there), that place, in **vahắń ká kyá kah'ná!**

báhar bhítar, exterior and interior self, in **jis'ká báhar bhítar ek sá haĩ.**

(d) Interjections—

háy-háy, cry of pain, in **yah háy-háy kyá lagá rakhí haĩ?**

váh váh, appreciation, in **tum to váh váh ke bhúkhe ho.**

(e) Verbs—

khel, game, fun, in **áj ká khel samápta ho gayá.**

roná, cries, in **tumheń roná hí acchá lag'tá haĩ.**

(f) Quotation—

phir, the word 'phir', in **tumhára lekh meń kaí bár phir áyá haĩ.**

2. ii. Change of Semantic Function.

Conversely, the noun itself may semantically function as any other part of speech and thus change its original meaning.

(a) As a pronoun in—

log kah'te hāĺá, log means they.

ghar ke log stands for women.

shrímán, mahárāj, sar'kár mean 'he' or 'you'.

(b) As an adjective—

bhalá mánas ád'mí (lit. a genlteman person), a good man.

gadhá, foolish, and **suar,** wicked.

jeb in **jeb ghaṛí,** pocket watch.

káṭh in **káṭh ghar,** woodhouse, and **kaṭah'rá,** a paliscade (Skt. **káṣṭhagrham**).

Nouns like **joṛá** (couple) and **koṛí** (cowrie) are used as numeral adjectives 'two' and 'twenty'. Compare **gaṇḍá** (in Bihar and the Punjab) = 4, and **dar'jan** (Eng. dozen) in NIA = 12.

(c) As a Verb—

jáne válá, goer, but **rám jáne válá thá** means Ráma was about to go.

(d) As an adverb—

In **tum merí madad patthar karoge ?** and **vah ap'ná sir paṛh'tá hāĺ, patthar,** stone, and **sir,** head, mean 'not', 'at all'.

(e) As Postpositions—

Skt. **párshva,** side, > **pás,** near, **ghar ke pás,** near the house, cf. Beng. **páshe,** Punj. **páse**; Skt. **tale,** on the surface, in **ghar ke tale,** below the house; Per. **taraf,** side, in **us'kí taraf** towards him ; Skt. **antar,** duration, in **atrántar,** after that. Compare Beng. **tare,** for, from Skt. **antare** ; also Beng. **bhíte,** towards, from Skt. **bhitti,** wall.

2. iii. Kinds of Nouns.

A noun of one class may change into a noun of another class. Ráma is the name of a god. But persons named Rám'prasád, Rám'lál, Rámánand, Rám'saháy, Rám'náth, Rám'dás and Rámbharose and even Nand'rám, Shántárám are called simply Rám.

Káshi, Jamuná, and Gangá can be the names of places, ladies, cows and even men. Similarly names of persons may be used for places, as **badrínáth,** (Badrinath), **kedár'náth** (Kedarnath), both in Garhwal, **amar'náth,** (Amarnath in Kashmir), etc.

A proper noun, however, is least significant and, therefore, least liable to change. A common noun is more meaningful than a proper noun. **nagar** (city) and **nárí** (woman) have a greater difference in signification than Prayag and Varanasi. Semantic change in common nouns is common. They may become proper nouns (as **purí,** town, for Jagannath Puri, **gaṅgá,** river, for the Ganges), they may change into collective nouns (as Skt. **lokah,** world, > **log,** men)* or they may become abstract nouns (as **dhárá** 'current', section, clause).

Similarly the concretion of abstract nouns makes them common (as **dev'tá,** god, **jan'tá,** public), they may become material nouns (as Skt. **suvarṇa,** good colour, > **soná,** gold, Skt. **candriká,** moonlight, > **cándí,** silver), or they may signify proper names (as **kál,** time, for death), **bháṣá,** language, for Hindi, **lajjá,** shyness, for Lajjawati).

For more details and examples see the chapter on Important Variations.

3. THE PRONOUN.

(i) PERSONAL PRONOUNS.
(ii) INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.
(iii) INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

3. i. Personal Pronoun.

The number of pronouns is not large. Of the personal pronouns we have **vah, yah,** he, **ve, ye,** they, **maiṁ,** I, **ham,** we, **tú,** thou, **tum,** you, and **áp,** you (honorific). **vah** and **yah** are also demonstrative pronouns. **áp** is also a reflexive pronoun.

koí, any, is an Indefinite Pronoun. Hindi has a semantic

*Also note mrg'log in the Ram'carit Manas. *Cf. Skt.* varga *and Beng.* sakal, guli.

advantage over English in possessing a separate Interrogative Pronoun **kaun** and a Relative **jo,** whereas English "who" has to answer for both.

On the other hand, Hindi possesses no personal pronouns for the third person. **vah** is simply 'that (one)' and **yah,** 'this (one)'. They are, in fact, remote and near demonstrative pronouns changed into personal. The loss of **so, tuun, tis** for the third person is regrettable semantically. Compare Skt. **tat** side by side with **etat,** this, **idam,** this, and **adas,** that. There is also ambiguity attached to the signification of **vah** and **yah.** They may mean he, she or it. It is only literary Hindi which has evolved the plural forms **ye** and **ve** for 'they.' Colloquial Hindi has **yih** and **voh** which mean this, these, he, she, it, they, that, those.

Another semantic peculiarity of Hindi pronouns is that plural may also signify singular. Examples—

hamárí samajh meń, in my judgment.
ham jáyń'ge, I will go.
áp'ká ghar, thy house.
tum kahán the ?, Where wast thou ?
ve cár baje milenge, he (honorific) will be available at four.
ye mere mitra haiń, he (honorific) is a friend of mine.

This incidence also creates confusion, so much so that at times the pronouns have to be supplemented with the word **log** to indicate the plural, as in **ham log,** we people, **áp logoń ko,** to you people, **tum log,** you, especially when even the context fails to show whether the singular or the plural is meant.

maiń, I, and **ham,** we, are pronouns of the first person. **ham** used for singular, shows authority, as in **ham kah'te haiń** (we say—I order), pride, as in **ham leke haṭenge** (we shall not move without taking it—I can take it), or authorship, as in **ham ne likhá hai,** the author has said it before.

In the Prem-ságar and the Rám'carit'mánas, for instance, **maiń** and **ham,** are indiscriminately used, sometimes both in the same context. Literary or puritan Hindi does make distinction, but the force of usage is great.

Even in modern literature we find such constructions as—

vah ṭhah'rá ṭake ká maj'dúr, maiń ek baṛá af'sar, hamárá úr ús'ká kyá joṛ (Premchand in "gulli ḍanḍá"); or **abhí tak maiń ap'ne ko bhái se alag samajh'tá thá lekin ab málúm**

huá ki bhaí ham se alag na the (Shivráni Devi in "vimátá").

The first person is also denoted by nouns in the third person as in **ab ap'ne rám jáne vále hálń,** Now I am about to go, **dev datta it'ná múrkha nahíń jo**...Deva Dutta (I) is not such a fool as...., **dás kí vinay,** the request of your servant (mine).

For the second person, Hindi has three pronouns, **tú, tum** and **áp** (honorific). **tú,** on the one hand, shows contempt, and on the other hand kindliness, affection and even devotion. **tum** also indicates the latter meanings. Compare **tú kartavyahín hai, besharam hai** (Shivrani) and **tum gadhe náláyak** (Premchand), or **he prabhu, terí dayá,** and **he prabhu, tum hí bacá lo.** Generally speaking, **tú** and **tum** are both slipshod and lacking in reverence. **tum** indicates greater equality and familiarity. It is used to mean a singular as well as a plural.

áp shows equality, subordination or superiority, but always respect for the person addressed. It may denote a single person or many persons like **tum.** Besides its principal meaning, **áp** also refers to a third person (already mentioned or present) or to another person not present. Thus it causes ambiguity as in **áp'ká kah'ná** would more commonly mean: What you say. But it also may mean: What he says. In **rám'náth Dillí ke rah'ne vále the, áp'ká janma 1905 meń huá, áp** means 'he'.

But it has four meanings in **log áp'ká visheṣ ádar kar'te hálń**—

(1) People render special respect to you (many).

(2) People render special respect to you (one).

(3) People render special respect to him.

(4) People render special respect to them.

Note that the Skt. **bhavat, atrabhavat, tatrabhavat** are semantically more distinct and serviceable. And they have distinct plural forms, too.

It may also be noted that **áp** is originally reflexive in Sanskrit **átman.** The change of meaning in Hindi is remarkable.

áp is not available in dialectical Hindi.

Some nouns in third person also denote **tum** or **áp** as in **mujhe hazúr (shrímán sar'kár) ke darshanoń kí lál'sá thí,** I had a wish to see you, or **sar'kár to pah'le hí nahín the,** i.e. you were even then intelligent (Premchand's "gulli ḍanḍá").

The pronouns in third person may mean—

(a) an adjective, as in **vah ghar gir'tá hai,** *that* house falls;

(b) a pronoun, as in **vah ghar girátá hai**, *He* fells the house;
(c) an adverb, as in **líjie, yah maĩá calá**, Lo, *here* or *now* I go, or **so kyá huá ?** What happened *then* ?
(d) a conjunction, as in **maĩá bímár hún so yah kám tumhín kar ḍálo**, I am ill, *therefore* you do this work.

3. ii. Interrogative Pronouns kaun and kyá.

kaun (who, which) may be applied both to persons and to things. When used substantively (as a pronoun), it refers to persons only, as in—

kaun ján'tá hai, Who knows ?
yah kis'ká laṛ'ká hai, Whose son is it ?

Note the contemptuous sense in **rok'ne vále tum kaun ho ?** Who are you to stop me ?

When used adjectively it means what, which, what sort of person or thing. Examples—

kaun manuṣya aisá kar'tá hai. What man does so ?
kaun kám kar'ne aur kaun na kar'ne yogya hai = which work is fit to be done and which is not ?
yah kaun strí hai ? = What sort of woman is this ?

'What sort of' is usually expressed by **kaun sá** as in—

vah kaun sí bháṣá bol'tá hai ? What sort of language does he speak ?

The word has also the force of adverbial negativization, when the interrogative sense is absent, as in—

kaun jáne ? No one knows ?
áp'ko satsaṅg kaun dúr hai ? Good company is not away from you.

kaun has also the meaning of the Relative **jo**, as in—

kaun gayá ho aur kin-kin logoń ke pás gayá ho, yah koí nahín ján'tá, who may have gone and to what persons, is known to nobody.

kyá is more indefinite and groups things while **kaun** individualizes. Compare **kaun** as an adjective in—

yah kaun pustak hai ? What book is this ?
yah kyá pustak hai, rather suggests : What class of literature does this book belong to ?

As a pronoun, it usually denotes things and animals, as **yah kāūn hāī?** Who is this? and, **yah kyá hāī?** What is this?

The following changes in the meaning of the word are due to its use as a different part of speech—

Adv. **ghoṛá kyá dāūṛá havá ho gayá, kyá**=how well.
hińsak jív mujhe kyá máreńge, kyá=why.
sipáhí vaháń kyá já rahá hāī, kyá=really!

Conj. **kyá strí, kyá puruṣ**=whether men or women.

kyá also denotes several moods, as—

Question, in **kyá ve áveńge?** Will they come?

Negation, in **kyá málúm?** We don't know.

Surprise, in **váh, kyá kah'ná,** Bravo.

Threat, in **tum kyá sam'jhe bāīṭhe ho,** lit. What do you think of yourself?

Confirmation, in **áp kyá vaháń jáeńge?** Will you really go there?

3. iii. Indefinite Pronouns koí and kuch.

koí (any) < Skt. **koapi** has the sense of 'indescribable'.

When used as a pronoun, it refers generally to persons and occasionally to things. Examples—

koí hāī? Is there any one? **koí kāīse ján sak'tá hāī,** how can any one know? **koí nahíń,** none, as **koí kuch nahíń kah'tá,** no one says anything, lit. anyone does not say something.

koí originally means 'any'. But compare **sab koí ap'ní baṛáí cáh'te hāīń,** all (persons) or every one, **koí já rahá hāī,** some one is going. In **koí ap'ne desh meń rahe koí par'desh, koí** = one, **mere ghar koí áye hāīń, koí** = some people.

kuch < Skt. **kashcit** originally means "a certain", "some", or "a part", as in **kuch láo,** bring some (thing) or a part.

Compare the other meanings of the pronominal **kuch.** In **ham sab kuch ján'te hāīń, sab kuch** = everything.

kuch always conveys, more or less distinctly, a partitive sense.

Followed by a negative, **koí** means 'no one' and **kuch** 'nothing', as in **kisí ne use dekhá nahíń,** no one saw him, but **kuch bh í nahíń,** nothing at all.

When used adjectively, either may denote both persons and things

and retain its original meaning.

koí laṛ'ká, any boy, **koí ghar,** any house.

kuch laṛ'ke, some boys, **kuch jal,** some water.

As an adverb **koí** as well as **kuch** undergoes various semantic changes. Examples—

koí = about, in **is meṅ koí 400 pṛṣṭha hāĩ,** it has about 400 pages.

kuch = slightly, in **táp kuch ghaṭá yá nahíṅ,** is the temperature slightly low or not?

kuch choṭí hāĩ, is a bit small, **kuch burá lagá,** felt a little ill; etc.

In **merá hál kuch na púch, kuch** = at all; and in **laṛ'ká bahut kuch dauṛ'tá hāĩ, kuch** = sufficiently.

4. THE ADJECTIVE.

(i) Attributive Adjectives.
(ii) Predicative Adjectives.
(iii) Adjective Equivalents.
(iv) Substantivization of Adjectives.
(v) Contextual change.
(vi) Pronominal Adjectives of Quality.
(vii) Pronominal Adjectives of Quantity.
(viii) Numerals.

4. i. Attributive Adjectives.

Used attributively adjectives have fourfold effect on the nouns.

(a) They distinguish one person or thing or one group of persons or things from others of the same class, as—

lál ghoṛá, red horse, **míṭhá páni,** sweet water, **choṭe saksená sáhab,** younger Saxena.

(b) They restrict the meaning of nouns, as in **merá ghar,** my house, **kṛṣṇa sarpa,** cobra, **haváí jaháj,** air-ship.

(c) They are classifying, as in **paháṛí log,** hill people, **uttarí bhárat,** northern India, **tís'rí shreṇí,** third class.

(d) They give some secondary information as in **dayálu íshvar,** merciful God, **satí sítá,** the chaste Sita, **pratápí bhoj,** the glorious

Bhoja, **pavítra gaṅgá,** the holy Ganges, **múk pashu,** mute animals, **abodh bálak,** innocent child, **kálá kauvá,** black crow. In such cases the adjectives are used for suggestiveness and emphasis.

Note that the above meanings are available even when adjectives qualify proper nouns.

4. ii. Predicative Adjectives.

Used predicatively, they express a quality or state of persons or things.

maĩṅ ne sam'jhá vah múrkha hãĩ, I thought he is foolish.

vah sabhá mrt'práy hãĩ, that society is practically dead.

In effect, the predicative adjective is an adverb. It appears like an adjective only with the auxiliary verb **honá,** to be.

4. iii. Adjective Equivalents.

Sometimes, other parts of speech have the same adjectival meaning as we have considered above.

1. Nouns (in apposition), as in **vakíl rám'náth,** Vakil Ramnath, **us'kí máṅ vidh'vá hãĩ,** his mother is widow.

2. Pronouns, as in **merá ghar,** my house, **vah rájá,** that king, **koí stríi,** some woman, **kíṅn log,** what people.

3. Verbs, rarely, as **bhar,** fill, in **ser bhar,** about a seer, **rát bhar,** the whole night.

4. Adverbs, quite rarely, as **keval,** only, in **keval stríyáṅ,** only women, **keval ham,** only we.

4. iv. Substantivization of Adjectives.

Substantivization of adjectives is an important cause of meaning-change (see "Concretion" p. 227).

As a rule this substantivization is due to ellipsis.

sacce=sacce manuṣya, the truthful, **burá buroṅ se vãĩr na kare,** a bad person should do no evil to bad men.

sab kah'te hãĩṅ, all say, **sab = sab log,** all people, **cároṅ,** the

four, **lákhoṅ yá sā̃k'ṛoṅ,** hundreds and thousands of men.

ṭhaṇḍe ṭhaṇḍe (mausam meṅ), in cold (season).

Substantivization is the sign of more specific classification as **acchoṅ,** the good (oblique), **baṛoṅ,** the elderly people, **dín,** wretched, **patit,** the depressed, **abhiyukta,** the accused, are restricted to persons, showing their social position or state. So also **búṛhá,** an old man, **buṛhiyá,** an old lady, **paṇḍit,** a learned person, **bhag'ván,** the fortunate personality, **sundarí,** a beautiful woman.

gore, whites, **kále,** blacks, denote race.

cíní, Chinese, **hindustání,** Indian, **desí,** native, etc. refer to race as well as language.

saṅsakrt, aṅg'reji are limited to languages.

bah'rá (deaf), **gúṅgá** (dumb), **gaṅjá** (bald), **laṅg'ṛá** (lame) show physical deformity of persons and animals.

priya (pí) (dear), **mah'tar** (chief), **pítam** (lover) denote personal relations.

4. v. Contextual Change.

Adjectives may take other meanings according as their settings change. Examples—

As pronouns, in **ek bā̃ṭhá thá dús'rá khaṛá thá,** one was sitting, the other was standing, **ek** = one man, **dús'rá** = the other person; **jālsá karoge vālsá bharoge,** as you sow, so shall you reap, **jālsá** = **jālsá kám,** and **vālsá** = **vālsá kám.**

As adverbs, in **ham thoṛe laṛ'te hā̃ṅ,** we *do not* quarrel; **vah udás bā̃ṭhá hā̃,** **udás** = in a sad mood; **mrg'chaune kālse nidhaṛak car rahe hā̃ṅ, nidhaṛak** = fearlessly; **shatru barábar baṛh'tá calá á rahá hā̃,** **barábar** = continuously.

Punjabi is especially fond of such a usage. Punj. **uccá uṭh,** rise *up*, but H. **úṅce uṭho,** Punj. **jhikká ho,** but H. **níce ho,** bend *down*.

As Postpositions—

ul'ṭá, opposite, in **ṭápú ká ul'ṭá jhíl hā̃,** the opposite of island is lake.

pah'le, first, in **jáne se pah'le,** before going.

yogya, fit, in **mere yogya koí sevá,** any service for me.

barábar, equal, in **laṛ'ká ád'mí ke barábar daur'á,** the boy ran with the man.

4. vi. Pronominal Adjectives of Quality.

ālsá, jālsá, vālsá, kālsá, as adjectives of quality, denote likeness, as in—

kālsá ád'mí, what sort of a man.

jālsá kám vālsá dám, Like work, like money.

ālsí bát, such a thing, **vālsá ghar,** that kind of house.

Note how **ālsá** and **jālsá** become identical in meaning in **yah áp jālse (ālse) ád'miyoń ká kám hāi,** this is the job of people like you.

The same meaning is found in their use as pronouns.

ālsá kab ho sak'tá hāi ? How is this (lit. this like) possible ?

jālsá karoge vālsá bharoge, as like you do, so like you gain.

They have special signification in **ālsí vālsí strí,** a commonplace woman, **ālsá vālsá,** ordinary, **ālsí vālsí bát,** such an unmentionable thing, **ālsá bhí kyá hāi,** there is nothing extra-ordinary about it.

When these words are used as adverbs, the idea of manner or method is more prominent than that of resemblance. Compare—

kālsá kám kiyá jáy (adj.), **kám kālse kiyá jáy** (adv.)

jālse ko tālsá (pron.), **jālse kaho vālse kiyá jáy'gá** (adv.)

Note also the signification of **ālsá** (or **ālse**) **bāṭhá hún,** I am doing nothing particular.

sá is the abridged form of **ālsá.** Compare **tumhāre ālsá manuṣya** and **tum sá manuṣya** = lit. you like man (a person like you).

The variety of meanings in **sá** is remarkable. It converts nouns to the meaning of adjectives showing likeness, as in **citra sí nárí** = a picture-like woman, **áp se pavitra,** holy as you (lit. you-like holy), **táp sá,** feverish, **dhuáń sá,** something like smoke.

It also denotes a shade of indefiniteness.

With adjectives, it has an accessary idea of 'a lesser degree of quality' as in English '-ish', as, **jvar-sá,** feverish, **nílí sí ciṛiyá,** a bluish bird.

It adds intensity to adjectives which already denote 'a lesser degree of quality'.

thoṛí sí roṭí, a very small quantity of bread.

choṭí sí laṛ'kí, a very small girl.

With verbs, it shows indefiniteness of action, as in **raṅg miṭ sá gayá hāi,** the colour is almost gone, **haṅs'tá sá lagá,** looked

almost smiling.

Note that in these usages **sá** cannot be replaced by **ālsá**.

4. vii. Pronominal adjectives of Quantity.

There is nothing semantically peculiar about pronominal adjectives of quantity. But note the difference of meaning in the following usages:

(a) As adjectives, they denote quantity when used in singular and number when used in plural—**it'ná dúdh,** so much milk, but **it'ne ád'mí,** so many men; **it'nī bát,** so much matter, or so important, as in **it'nī bát na thī,** it was not such an important thing, but **it'nī báteṅ,** so many things.

(b) As pronouns, they have elliptical meaning-suggestion, as in **it'ne meṅ,** in the meanwhile (time), **kit'ne meṅ,** at how much (price), **ve it'ne se the,** he was only so much (in size).

(c) As adverbs, they denote 'excess' and add an idea of quantity to quality—**kit'ná acchá laṛ'ká hāī,** how good the boy is, **it'nī choṭī laṛ'kī,** so little a girl!

4. viii. Numerals.

Of the numerals, **ek** (one) has quite a large number of meanings, as in—

ek din ālsá áyegá (some such day will come).
ek sáth (all at once, together).
ek áye, ek gaye (several people came and several have gone).
kaī ek (many, of various kinds).
ek tumhāre hī dukh se dukhī hālā (only by your trouble are we miserable).
das ek, sau ek (about ten, about a hundred).
donoṅ ká ek rúp hāī (both are alike).

The other numerals have no peculiar semantics.

The indefiniteness of number is denoted in the combinations of numerals, as—

ek ádh, a few, **do cár,** two or four (a few), **das ek** (about ten), etc.

do-do, tín-tín, two each, three each, **do-do kar'ke, tín-tín kar'ke,** two by two, three by three, etc. are idiomatic usages in Hindi.

Compare the difference in the meaning of **dús'rá din** (second day) and **dús're din** (next day). **dús're din, tís're din,** etc. also make adverbs meaning 'on the second day', 'on the third day', etc.

5. THE ADVERB.

(i) ADVERBIALIZATION.
(ii) CONTEXTUAL CHANGES OF MEANING.

The adverb as used in Hindi covers more than its name signifies. **hán,** yes, and **nahín,** no, **yahán,** here, **vahán,** there, **ab,** now, **kab,** when, for example, do not appear in any special manner to qualify the verb. Yet these and many other adverbs do furnish information closely connected with that which the verb conveys.

5. i. Adverbialization.

Adverbial meaning may be derived from several parts of speech:

(a) Nouns, as in—

pás, near, derived from Skt. **párshva,** side, in **gánv pás hāl,** the village is near, **mere pás áo,** come towards me (adverb of place), **díválí pás á gaí,** the Dewali came up (adverb of time).

nishcay (belief), certainly, in **mālá is kám ko nishcay nahín kar sak'tá,** I cannot, of course, do it.

sac, truth = truly, in **sac kaho.**

patthar, stone = never, in **tum patthar ján'te ho,** you do not know at all.

In this connection may also be noted adverbial phrases which are simple nouns in some case. Nouns in instrumental and ablative cases are most common, as **krodh se,** angrily, **kis prakár se,** how, **namratá se,** gently, **ánanda se,** well, happily. Nouns in locative case are also available, as **anta meń,** finally, **vástav meń,** truly, **ágе,** in front, **píchе,** behind, **pah'le,** first, etc. There are many adverbs which have come down from such Sanskrit forms as **tale,**

down, **akále**, early. Compare Sindhi **mathe**, upon ; Beng. **ekhane** (this moment), now ; Punj. **ethe** (at this place), here, etc. Nouns in accusative, used as adverbs, are comparatively few, as **ek dín**, on a certain day, **us samay**, at that time.

(b) Adjectives, as in—

acchá, well, **vah acchá gátí hai**, she sings well.

tez, rapid, **vah tez dauṛá**, he ran fast.

ṭhík, right, **áp'ne ṭhík kahá**, you said rightly.

baṛá, big, **baṛá acchá ád'mí hai**, he is a very good man.

nissandeh, doubtless, **vah nissandeh soyá huá hai**, he is doubtlessly asleep.

(c) Pronouns, as in—

kuch, some, **vah kuch acchá hai**, he is slightly better.

kyá (what) how, **maiṅ use kyá sam'jhaúṅ**, how should I tell him !

(d) Verbs (rarely), as in—

phir, move, **phir kyá huá ?** What happened then ?

cáhe, wished, **cáhe jo ho**, whatsoever may happen.

bhar, fill, **pyárí ne áṅkheṅ bhar kar kahá**, the beloved said with eyes full of tears.

áp'ke áne bhar kí der hai, waiting just for your arrival.

Participles and conjunctive verbs also mean adverbs, as **rote-rote so gayá**, the child went to sleep, weeping ; **khá kar so gayá**, went to sleep after taking meals, etc.

(e) Note how postpositions and adverbs exchange meaning. In **is ke níce kyá hai ?** **níce** = under, **vah níce girá**, **níce** = down ; **áge calo**, **áge** = forward, **ghar ke áge**, **áge** = in front of.

5. ii. Contextual Changes of Meaning.

The semantic changes in the various uses of adverbs may be noted in the following examples—

(1) **yahán** in **naukar yahán rah'tá hai** means 'here' or 'this place' ; **jahán tak ho sake**, so far as possible ; **kahán tak (gináuṅ)** how far ; **naukar bhái ke yahán rah'tá hai**, **yahán** means 'at' (postposition) ; **yahán tak ki**, so much so that (conjunction).

(2) The changes in the meaning of **kahín** are interesting. It generally means 'anywhere', or 'somewhere'. But in **mujh se vah**

kahíń sukhí hāī, kahíń means 'much more', **kahíń hańsí na ho, kahíń** means 'I fear', and **patthar bhí kahíń pasíj'te hāīń ? kahíń** means 'ever'.

In the last example it becomes an adverb of time.

Note the suggestiveness of **kaháń** in **kaháń rájá bhoj kaháń gańgú telí,** there is a great difference between Bhoja, the King, and Gangu, the oil-presser; **māīń kaháń já sak'tá húń,** I cannot go.

(3) **kab** is an adverb of time and means 'when', as in **nāūkar kab áyegá,** when will the servant come? **kab tak** = how long.

jab and **tab** are identical in meaning in **áp yah kareń tab (jab) māīń bhí jánúń,** do this then I may also realize.

to is derived from **tab** and has the same meaning as in **to kyá huá,** what happened then? But it specializes in such expressions as in **yah to kisí ne dekhá hí nahíń, to** means 'of course' and in **khá to lo, to** has the sense of 'just'.

(4) The postpositional adverbs are used for time as well as place. Examples—

gáńv pás hāī, the village is near (in distance), **díválí pás hāī,** the Diwali is near (in time).

úpar bāīṭho, sit up (above or on), **ek mahíná úpar ho gayá,** it is over a month, **úpar se us'ká patra áyá,** after that came his letter.

áge calo, go forward, **áge dekhá jáy'gá,** it will be seen in the future, **áge dekh,** see in front, **áge bhí áp ko kahá thá,** I had told you even before.

Note how **áge** and **píche** become identical in meaning in—

áge dekhá jáy'gá, píche dekhá jáy'gá, we shall see to it afterwards.

(5) **hí** is an intensive adverbial particle, added to many, if not all, words of all parts of speech. It has the meaning of 'just' or 'definitely', or 'even'.

rám hí á jáye, just Ráma may come up.
játá hí thá, I was just going.
mujhí se púch lete, you could ask even me.
abhí (ab hí), just now, **kahíń (kaháń hí),** anywhere.
acchá hí huá, it was, of course, good.
ghar ke pás hí, definitely close to the house.
cáhe rám hí ho, even if it be Ráma.

It singles out and restricts the word which it qualifies, as—

rám hí á jáye, it suggests exclusion of other persons.
acchá hí huá at once suggests that it was anyhow not bad.
mujhí se púch lete i.e. if you could not ask anybody else, you could at least ask me.

At times it only emphasizes the meaning of the previous words, as **vah hāl hí nahíń,** he *is* not here.
mujhí ko mároge? Will you strike *me*.

The meanings of the following adverbial phrases are noteworthy :
vāise hí, in the same manner, in **vāise hí kar lo.**
vāise hí, by chance, in **ye kitábeń vāise hí mil gaíń.**
yoń hí, uselessly, **yoń hí pheńk diyá.**
kyoń nahíń, yes, certainly.

6. POSTPOSITIONS.

(i) Semantic Variations.
(ii) Nouns and Verbs as Postpositions.
(iii) Adverbial Postpositions.
(iv) Postpositions understood.

Dr. Kellogg has pointed out that many of the Hindi postpositions were originally nouns. It is not our concern here to trace the origin of each of these forms. Semantically, postpositions are the result of the law of specialization. They have now rid themselves of their original meaning in order to become suggestive rather than significative. They are not mere grammatical instruments : They have a strong effect on the relation of words and their meanings.

6. i. Semantic Variations.

We shall take some of the most important postpositions the meanings of which have changed violently and covered a large variety of relationships.

ko shows the accusative case in **yah patra us'ko bhej do,** send this letter to him. It relates to the object proper. It is used for the accusative of place in **vah ghar ko gayá,** he went towards his house, and for the accusative of time in **rát ko,** at night, **shám**

ko, in the evening. It signifies the dative of purpose in **vah nahāne ko gayā**, he went for bathing, the dative of recipient in **bacce ko ām do**, give mangoes to the child, and the dative of possession or acquisition in **vidvānoṅ ko itihās kā prem thā**, the scholars had love for history.

In Braj, **ko** stands for the possessive **kā**, of. The same meaning is implied in the adverbial phrases **un'ko gaye hue das din bīt gaye**, ten days have passed since *his* departure, **becāre ko sārī rāt taṛap'te bītī**, the poor man *had* the whole night passed in distress, in standard Hindi.

The following are the peculiar usages of **ko** in Hindi—**tum ko ciṭṭhī milī**, you received the letter; **bālak ko yah pustak paṛh'nī cāhiye**, the boy should read this book; **mujhe khānā khānā hai**, I have to take meals; **pustak paṛh'ne ko man kar'tā hai**, lit. the mind likes to read the book; **rām ko krodh ā gayā**, Ráma got angry, **tum ko kyā cintā hai**, what worry have you? **mujh ko gānā ātā hai**, I know singing.

se is another (adverbial) postposition which has a variety of meanings, as distance in **aṭak se kaṭak** (from Attock to Cuttack), instrument in **hrday se dayālu** (tender by heart), difference in **yah kap'ṛā us se alag hai** (this cloth is different from that), object in **rām se pūchā** (asked Ráma), source in **khān se cāndī nikal'tī hai** (silver is obtained out of a mine), agent in **guru se shikṣā pāī** (received education from a teacher), accompaniment in **sab se mel rakho**, (keep friendship with all), continuance in **bahut dinoṅ se** (since many days), duration in **tīn din se** (for three days), cause in **āp'ke darshanoṅ se** (on account of seeing you), relationship in **us'ko bulāne se kyā kām** (what is the use of calling him), comparison in **mujh se baṛh'kar** (better than me), etc.

On account of certain verbs, **se** is used accusatively, as in **rām ne mujh'se kahā** or **pūchā**, Ráma said to, asked, me.

It has the adverbial sense as denoted by Eng. -ly in **dhyān se**, (attentively), **shraddhā se** (devotedly), **man se** (heartily), etc.

se is pleonastic in **dhīre se** (slowly).

This **se** is different from **-se** 'like' in **rām-se putra** (a son like Ráma), the latter having been derived from **sīse**.

meṅ = in (place), in **ghar meṅ**; through, in **ban meṅ**; inside,

in **skúl meṅ, ghar meṅ**; among, in **striyoṅ meṅ padmiṇí**; by, in **bátoṅ meṅ aṛáná**; between, in **bhái bhái meṅ**; for, in **do áne meṅ**; within, in **ek ghaṇṭe meṅ.**

par = on, in **kháṭ par**; above, in **chat par**; at, in **dúrí par**; in, in **ghar par**; towards, in **is prashna par dhyán do**; on the bank of, in **táláb par**; for, in **do rupaye par ímán kho diyá**; on account of, in **mere bol'ne par**; after, in **báp par gayá hai**; in spite of, in **sam'jháne par bhí.**

tak = upto (distance), in **banáras tak**; to, in **bálak se vrddha tak**; upto (limit), in **das rupaye tak**; at all (adverbial), in **us'ne dekhá tak nahíṅ**; even, in **hindí tak nahíṅ ján'tá.**

ká, ke, kí have the largest variety of meanings. They make adjectival relationship in a number of cases when, for example—

(i) used with materials they describe their 'make', as in **lak'ṛí ká ghoṛá**, wooden horse, **sone ke gah'ne**, golden ornaments, **káṭh kí haṅḍiyá**, wooden kettle, **lohe kí zanjír**, an iron chain.

(ii) used with proper names of places they express origin or habitat, as in **prayág ke am'rúd**, guavas of Prayag, or **láhaur ká 'mí**, a man from Lahore.

(iii) used with names of living beings, they denote possession in **rám'ká ghar**, Ráma's house; connection of responsibility, in **kis ke hastákṣar**, whose signature; relation of kinship, in **gáy ká baccá**, cow's young; relation of office, in **rám'pur ká kot'vál**, Kotwal of Rampur; relation of price or quality, in **do paise ká dahí**, curd for two pice; relation of time, in **do din ká melá**, a air for two days.

(iv) used figuratively as in **káṭh ká ullú**, an arrant fool, **miṭṭí ká pinjar**, the human body.

Besides, they add the following significations—

Objective, as in **pakṣí ke láne kí ájáiyá**, permission to bring the bird, **laṛ'ke ke capat lagá dí**, he gave a slap to the boy.

Genitive, as in **pitá ká pyár**, father's love, **ashok ká rájya**, Ashoka's government, **ap ká makán**, your house.

Instrumental, as in **bhúkh ká márá**, starved by hunger, **dúdh ká jalá**, burnt by milk, **janma ká daridrí**, pauper by birth.

Ablative, as in **bambai ká calá**, started from Bombay.

Dative, as in **pā́se kí cíní,** sugar for a pice, **savárí ká úṅṭ,** a camel for riding.

In a number of idiomatic phrases **ká** has special meanings which are, in fact, due to ellipsis. Examples—

ká denotes age in **cár mahíne ká baccá,** a child of four months; measure, in **das bíghe ká khet,** a field of 10 acres; place or possession, in **un'ke ek laṛ'ká hā́i,** they have a son or lit. there is a boy in their house; and so on.

ká and **ke** not only signify the difference of singular and plural, they also suggest a great difference in meaning. Compare—

sab ká sab, the whole, and **sab ke sab,** all (severally).

jhuṇḍa ká jhuṇḍa, whole of the (one) group, and **jhuṇḍa ke jhuṇḍa,** many groups.

rájá ká mukuṭ páte hí, as soon as he obtained the king's crown, and **rájá ke mukuṭ páte hí,** when the king obtained his crown.

6. ii. Nouns and Verbs as Postpositions.

Certain nouns, adjectives used as nouns, and verbs in Hindi make typically NIA postpositions, generally with **ke, kí** (of) and sometimes with **se** (from) or (by). They present an interesting semantic incidence. Compare—

saṅg, company, **áp ke saṅg,** *along with* you (lit. in your company).

sáth, company, **báp ke sáth,** *with* his father.

háth, hand, **naukar ke háth,** *through* (by hand of) his servant.

pás, side, **ghar ke pás,** *near* the house.

bal, force, **sir ke bal,** head down*wards*.

artha, purpose, **áp ke artha yah sampatti hā́i,** this property is *for* you.

kāraṇ, reason, **áp ke kāraṇ,** *due to* you.

hetu, cause (now obsolete), same as **ke kāraṇ** above.

jagah, place, **cap'rási kí jagah,** in place of the peon.

bhítar, inside, **ghar ke bhítar,** in the house.

báhar, outside, **ghar ke báhar,** out of the house.

apekṣá, regard, **us'kí apekṣá yah choṭá hā́i,** this is smaller *than* (lit. in regard to) that.

dvárá, means, **rám ke dvárá**, *by* Ráma or *through* Ráma.
or, side, **uttar kí or**, *towards* the north.
khátir, sake, **beṭe kí khátir**, for (the sake of) his son.
bháṅti, manner, **kal kí bháṅti**, *like* yesterday.

The following are adjectives, but as the genitive **ke** or **kí** shows, they are used as nouns in the examples below—

atirikta, excessive, **is ke atirikta**, *besides* this.
anurúp, similar, **samay ke anurúp**, *in accordance with* times.
anukúl, favourable, **áp ke anukúl**, in favour of.
adhín, subordinate, **rájá ke adhín**, *under* the king.
ul'ṭá, reverse, **is se ul'ṭá kám**, work *contrary to* this.
púrva, former, **samay se púrva**, *before* time.
barábar, equal, **áp ke barábar**, *like* you.
vip'rít, opposite, **is ke vip'rít**, *contrary* to this.
viruddha, opposite, **váyu ke viruddha**, *against* wind.
yogya, able, fit, **kul ke yogya**, *worthy of* the family.
samán, equal. same as 'barábar' above.
saríkhá, equal, (now obsolete) same as 'barábar' above.

We can now endorse with authority the opinion of Dr. Kellogg that most of the postpositions are originally nouns some of which have been truncated beyond recognition. If morphologists could retrace original nouns of such postpositions, their sematological study would be very interesting.

Of the verbs, **liye**, taking, means 'for' and **máre**, beating, **kar'ke**, having done, mean 'on account of', when used postpositionally, as in **áp ke liye**, for you, **cúhoṅ ke máre**, on account of the mice, **is kar'ke**, on account of this.

6. iii. Adverbial Postpositions.

In OIA and MIA, the locative case was commonly used to form adverbs. In the cases noted above, the locative case-ending in the Hindi words has dropped, but the locative sense is in tact. In the following adverbs, the locative affix is reminiscent of the OIA usage. **bharose**, relying on, **lekhe**, in account, **pal'ṭe**, **bad'le**, in exchange, **sám'ne**, in front, **tale**, or **níce**, lit. in the low place (below), **áge**, in front, **píche**, lit. in back (behind), and such other words are nouns in locative case with **-e** ending, but they are

semantically used as adverbs. When used as postpositions, they change meaning. As a matter of fact, such a postposition is a modifier of the verb. But the difference in the meaning of forms with and without **ke** is important in the following—

ágo calo, go forward, **vivâh ke ágo,** before the marriage.
pícho haṭo, move back, **ghar ke pícho,** behind the house.
báhar jáo, go out, **shakti ke báhar,** beyond power.
tum níco gire, you fell down, **us'ke níco kyá paṛá hai?** What is lying under it?
pás áo, come near, **un'ke pás rabaṛ hai,** he has a rubber.
pah'le khá lo, first eat, **kháne ke pah'le,** before meals.
sám'ne áo, come forward, **rájá ke sám'ne,** in front of the king.

In some cases, **se** and **meṅ** distinguish fine shades of meanings, as in—

ghar ke ágo, in front of the house, and **ghar se ágo,** farther from the house.
áne ke pah'le, just before coming, and **áne se pah'le,** before coming.
nagar ke báhar, outside (near) the city, and **nagar se báhar,** away from the city.
is ke níco, under it, and **is se níco,** still below it.
is ke úpar, on it, and **is se úpar,** upper.

ke, in the above examples, denotes simple postpositional relationship and **se** denotes the comparative degree.

6. iv. Postpositions understood.

In a large number of expressions, usage has elided postpositions which are just implied. Examples—

vah tín sál baṛá hai, he is older *by* three years.
sárí rát kám kar'tá rahá, he kept working (*during*) the whole night.
vah cír kál jág'tá rahá, he kept waking *for* long time.
vah kal rát mar gayá, he died (*at*) last night.
sab ap'ne ghar gaye, all went *to* their respective homes.
ap ap'ní áṅkhoṅ dekh lete, you could see *with* your own eyes.
ek vidh'vá hai jo ap'ne hí ghar rah'tí hai, there *is* a widow who lives *in* her own house.

IX

7. CONJUNCTIONS.

(i) The Copulative.
(ii) The Disjunctive.
(iii) The Adversative.
(iv) The Hypotactical.
(v) Conjunctions understood.

The term 'conjunction' does not explain or cover the scope of the words included under the name. Indian Grammarians extend the scope by using two names, **saṁyojak** (Conjunction) and **vibhájak** (Disjunction). But even this does not fully meet the whole range of meanings conveyed by them. The classification of Dr. Kellogg is semantically and syntactically more important. The following study is based on the lines indicated in his Grammar of Hindi Language.

7. i. The Copulative.

aur is the simple copula used paratactically, as in **tín aur cár sát**, three and four make seven, **rám aur lakṣmaṇ**, Ráma and Lakṣmaṇa, **ghar áo aur kám karo**, come home and do your work.

It has a special syntactical meaning in certain uses.

As a pronoun in **kuch aur**, anything else, **koí aur**, any other, **aur ká aur**, different.

As an adjective in **aur ám láo**, bring more mangoes, **aur kám kar lo**, do some different or other work.

As a pronominal adjective in **lallú á gayá, aur kaun áyegá** (Lallu has come, who else is expected).

As an adverb in **yah aur bhí acchá hai**, it is still better.

Sometimes ambiguity is caused as in such expressions as **maiṁ áúṁ aur kaun jáye** may be understood to mean: "If I come, who will go?" or "May I come? Who else will go?".

With verbs, it denotes sequence of actions, one following another. Examples—

vah á gayá hai aur rahegá bhí, he has come and he will stay here, too.

kháo aur cale áo, eat and come on.

In such expressions it does not have the cumulative meaning.

7. ii. The Disjunctive.

The disjunctive conjunctions present a variety of meanings. Ordinarily they involve the question of choice, as in **rám yá** (or) **(vá, ath'vá) shyám; merí báteṅ acchí lag'tí hālá vá nahíṅ?** Do you like my talk or not? **log cáh'te hālá ki nahíṅ?** Do the people wish it or not?

The same meanings are expressed by repeating the conjunction with every alternative.

yá.....yá, either.....or, in **yá gaṅgá meṅ kúd marúṅgí yá viṣ khá lúṅgí.**

na.....na, neither.....nor, in **na hindú hāl na musal'mán.**

cáhe.....cáhe, whether.....or, in **cáhe áve cáhe na áve.** S., also Punj. **bháveṅ** (lit. one may wish).

kyá.....kyá, whether.....or, **kyá strí kyá puruṣ.**

In some expressions there is only one disjunction between two alternatives, and it is more emphatic. Compare **hindú se laṛeṅ na gabra se vāir kareṅ,** we neither quarrel with the Hindu nor have enmity with the fire-worshipper, or **kare cáhe na kare,** he may do it or not.

These conjunctions also denote other meanings in special syntaxes. In **banáras yá káshí** (Benares or Kashi), it is used in apposition. In **yá banáras thí yá sun'sán hāl** (It was then Benares, now it is all desolate), it shows contrast. In **na tum áte na yah upadrav khaṛá hotá** (Neither you had come, nor would have this calamity happened), it shows condition.

7. iii. The Adversative.

The adversative 'but' is expressed by **par, magar, parantu, varan** and **kintu. magar** (from Persian) and **par** have the force of exceptive, as in **cár phal káṭe magar (par) keval ek acchá nik'lá,** Four fruits were cut but only one turned out to be good. **parantu** is a strong adversative, meaning 'but' with a capital B.

parantu yadi vicár kar dekhá jáye...But if we think deeply. **varan** has often more of a cumulative than adversative force. **na keval rupaye hí diye varan vastra bhí dán kiye,** he gave not only money but also clothes. **kintu** is often equal to **parantu.**

Occasionally it approximates in meaning to **varan** (Skt. **varam**), as in **māīń keval sańperá nahíń húń kintu bháṣá ká kavi bhí húń,** I am not only a snake-charmer but also a poet.

Punjabi also distinguishes between **par** or **epar,** but, and **hatthoń,** but rather. The latter involves a greater contrast. Compare **oh á táń geyá par (epar) cańgá nahíń hoyá,** he has, of course, come, but it is not good, and **oh nahíń áyá, hatthoń cańgá hoyá,** he has not come, but it is rather good.

7. iv. The Hypotactical.

Of the hypotactical conjunctions, which show subordination we have four semantic categories: (a) the hypothetical or conditional **yadi** or **jo (agar),** if, (b) the concessive **yadyapi (jo..... bhí),** although, (c) the explanative or causal **ki** and **kyońki,** because, and (d) the illative **to,** therefore. Of these **jo, to** and **ki** have important semantic variations.

(a) The various meanings of **jo** may be noted.

jo tú man kí saccí hāī... *if* you are truthful by heart...

jo yah bát na thí to... *when* this was not the matter, then...

yah kisí kí sámarthya nahíń jo us'ká sám'ná kare, It i not in the power of anybody *that* he should face him.

mujhe mar'ná nahíń jo tumhárá pakṣa karúń? Hav I not to die *for which* I should favour you?

vah jo bulátá hāī to mujhe jáná hí paṛegá, *Because* he call me, I shall have to go.

jo mujhe áp tyág bhí deń, (Even) *though* you foresake me.

(b) **ki** is the Persian equivalent for **jo.** In Hindi it is commonl used as an explanative, the original sense being altogether suppressed e.g. **māīń ne kahá ki yah ṭhík hāī,** I said that it was right.

It has a variety of special meanings, as in **jáoge ki nahíń** will you go *or* not?; **māīń nahíń uṭh sak'tá ki mere sir me píṛá hāī,** I cannot rise *for* I have headache. **ham tumheń bhej't hāīń ki tum kám kar áo,** We send you *so that* (or, in order tha you may do this work. Often **ki** would be rendered by the wor 'saying' as in **vah manátá rahá ki kal kháná na khá sakeńge.**

ki is used pleonastically in **vah jo ki bāīṭhá hāī,** he who i sitting.

(c) **to** < **tau** < **tao** < **tado** < **tatah** indicates result, as in—
yadi vah á gayá to mālá jáúngá, If he turns up *then* I shall go, or **to kahíń ján chúṭí,** then, after all, we were freed.

The pronoun **so** or **so to** and the conjunction **to** are equivalent in meaning when used as illative conjunctions, as in **vah jo á gayá, so (to) mujhe jáná hí paṛegá,** As he has come up, so I shall have to go.

to also has the sense of 'indeed', when it is not a conjunction, as in **áo to sahí,** do come, or in **jagat ká kartá to vah hāl,** He, indeed, is the creator or **ṭhík to hāl,** it is, of course, right.

7. v. Conjunctions Understood.

Sometimes conjunctions are omitted in expression but readily understood in meaning, as in—

bhale bure kí pah'cán, distinction between good *and* evil.
jay siyárám, victory to Sítá *and* Ráma.
dukh sukh ká dene válá, the giver of sorrow *and* joy.
áye áye, na áye na hí áye, he may *or* may not come.
garam hí nahíń kaṛ'vá bhí hāl, it is not only hot *but* also bitter.

Modern Hindi rests semantically on a sounder basis for having a distinctive set of conjunctions. Punjabi **je** may mean 'if' or 'that', **kadí** may mean 'if' or 'whatever', **ján** may mean 'when' or 'or'.

8. INTERJECTIONS.

8. Interjections.

There is nothing particular in the meaning of interjections except that some of them may be used to express various kinds of feelings, as **are** may express address, surprise, contempt or anger, as in **are, idhar áo,** O, come here, **are yah kyá ?** O, What is this ? **are haṭ re,** O you, get away, **are tú kaun hotá hāl ālá,** O, Who are you like that ?

oh expresses surprise mingled with sorrow or it is a self-reminder,

or it may signify joy. As a rule, the significations of several interjections depend upon intonation, including pitch.

Similar variety of meaning is found in **ah'há** which may express sorrow, admiration, surprise or joy, or **rám rám,** or **váh,** which may indicate nearly any emotion.

Some of the interjections have fixed meanings as **dhik,** fie, **dhanya,** bravo, **chih, chí chí,** away, away, etc.

9. THE VERB.

(i) SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE VERB.
THE SENSE AND MOOD OF THE VERB — THE INTRANSITIVE — THE TRANSITIVE FORCE.

(ii) COMPOUND VERBS.
THE ANCILLARIES — CLOSE AND LOOSE COMPOUNDS.

(iii) TENSES AND MOODS.
MODAL AND TEMPORAL CONDITIONS — SEMANTIC TENSE — FUTURITY DEFINED.

(iv) THE VOICE.
THE PRAYOGAS — THE TWO VOICES.

(v) THE INFINITIVE.
AS A NOUN — FUTURITY.

(vi) PARTICIPLES.
AS ADVERBS — AS VERBS — ACTIVE AND PASSIVE — FURTHER SEMANTIC CHANGES.

9. i. Semantic Function of the Verb.

The verb is a very important part of speech syntactically. It is the basis of all expression.* Although there are verbless sentences and the verb may be expressed by other words or gestures, the verbal idea is always present in every sentence.

THE SENSE AND MOOD OF A VERB. It is believed by all grammarians that a verb is expressive of action or it denotes being. This 'doing' or 'being' may signify—

*bhávaprádhánamákhyátam.

(a) positiveness as in **laṛ'ká játá hāĩ,** the boy goes, **gayá thá,** had gone.

(b) probability, as in **laṛ'ká uṭháye,** the boy may lift; **terí jay ho,** may you win.

(c) order, as in **jáo,** go; **vaháṅ mat baiṭhiye,** do not sit there.

(d) doubt, as in **vah játá hogá,** he may be going; **gayá hogá,** he might have gone.

(e) condition, as in **mere pás hotá to de detá,** if I had it, I would have given it.

We may further classify the verb in two ways according to the general scope of its meaning and usage. First, a verb denotes a single action or happening, or it involves the compounded idea of two actions. Examples—

Simple verb **maiṅ gayá,** I went, **já rahá hāĩ,** he is going.

Compound verb **maiṅ ne rakh diyá,** I placed it away, **vah udhar já baiṭhá,** he went and sat there.

The verb may be further classified into transitive and intransitive according as it involves the object or the subject for the completion of its meaning. There are verbs which must be transitive, such as causals, and verbs which must be intransitive. Yet there is a large number of verbs which may be either transitive or intransitive according to their relationship or function in the sentence. Compare—

maiṅ shabda sun'tá húṅ, I hear a sound, and, **maiṅ sun sak'tá húṅ,** I can hear.

maiṅ vákya bol'tá húṅ, I utter a sentence, and, **gúngá bol'tá hāĩ,** the dumb man speaks.

maiṅ páṭh paṛh'tá húṅ, I read the lesson, and, **maiṅ paṛh'tá húṅ,** I read.

maiṅ ne use lal'cáyá, I tempted him, and, **merá jí lal'cáyá,** my heart was tempted.

THE INTRANSITIVE. The intransitive verb has four semantic varieties, namely (a) the Active Intransitive, (b) the Neutral, (c) the Incomplete and (d) the Impersonal.

The active intransitive verb refers only to the subject for the completion of its meaning, as in **rám uṭhá,** Ráma woke up, **maiṅ bhejúṅgá,** I shall send, **ve dauṛe,** they ran.

IX

A neuter verb implies a state for which the subject is not responsible on account of any activity of his or its, e.g. **us'ká sir dukh'tá hāĩ**, his head aches, **cakkí cal'tí hāĩ**, the mill works. Compare also **deh'lí á gayí**, Delhi has come.

By incomplete verbs we mean to imply such intransitive verbs as do not convey full meaning, without an adjunct in apposition, as **vah díván ban gayá**, he made (became) a Diwan, **vah cor dikh'tá hāĩ**, he looks a thief, **vah bímár rahá**, he remained ill, **ghoṛá cmpáyá hāĩ**, the horse is a quadruped, etc.

In form, the impersonal verb is passive, but there is no grammatical nominative or psychological accusative governed by it. It is, in fact, the passive use of the intransitive verb. Compare—

us se kháyá nahíṅ játá, but Eng. 'He cannot eat'.

kyá mujh se jágá jáy'gá ? Eng. 'Can I keep waking' ?

ham se cup nahíṅ rahá gayá, We could not keep silent.

Note that this form involves the idea of practicability or possibility and obligation, and it has specific signification, too.

THE TRANSITIVE FORCE. The transitive force does not limit itself to the establishment of a link between the verb and the object or complement; it restricts the meaning of the verb itself. Compare—

maĩṅ dekh'tá húṅ, I see, and, **maĩṅ use dekh'ne já rahá húṅ**, I am going to see him.

maĩṅ kháta húṅ, I eat, and, **maĩṅ cával kháta húṅ**, I eat rice.

maĩṅ píta húṅ, I drink, and, **maĩṅ páni píta húṅ**, I drink water.

In this connection it may be noted that most of the verbs were first intransitive to which transitive meaning and often transitive form for the sake of semantic distinction and clarity were given later. **toṛ'ná** (< **ṭúṭ'ná**), to break, **phoṛ'ná** (< **phúṭ'ná**), to dash into pieces, **hiláná** (< **hil'ná**), to move, **chíl'ná**, (< **chil'ná**), to peel, and a host of other transitive verbs are derived from intransitive forms.

The causals are also transitive forms, but they are distinguished semantically. The true causal verb indicates the causing of another to do something instead of doing it oneself, e.g. **kar'ná**, to do, **karáná**, to cause another to do. Hindi has only two kinds of causals: First causals infixed with -á- and second causals infixed

with **-avá-** as **karáná, kar'váná,** < **kar'ná,** to do.

But there are transitive verbs in Hindi which are causal in form but active in meaning, such as **ḍuboná** (from **ḍúb'ná**), to drown, **ukhāṛ'ná** (from **ukhaṛ'ná**), to uproot, **sudhár'ná** (from **sudhar'ná**), to reform, **uṭháná** (from **uṭh'ná**), to raise, **rok'ná** (from **ruk'ná**), to stop, **chíl'ná** (from **chil'ná**), to peel, **bacáná** (from **bac'ná**), to save, **ghol'ná** (from **ghul'ná**), to mix.

There are, however, two distinctive causal meanings in some forms, as—

bacce ko nah'láná, to cause the baby to bathe.

bacce ko nahal'váná, to cause another to cause the baby to bathe.

bacce ko khiláná, to cause the boy to play or eat.

bacce ko khil'váná, to cause another to cause the boy to play or eat.

So aslo **piláná, pil'váná** from **píná,** to drink, **suláná, sul'váná** from **soná,** to sleep, **biṭháná, biṭh'váná** from **baiṭh'ná,** to sit, **siláná, sil'váná** from **síná,** to sew, **dhuláná, dhul'váná** from **dhoná,** to wash, **diláná, dil'váná** from **doná,** to give, etc.

Compare S. **ghá,** wound, **ghárá,** cause to wound, **ghárárá,** cause another to cause to wound, **dháiṇu,** to suck the breast, **dhárāiṇu,** to cause the child to suck, **dhárárāiṇu,** to cause another to cause the child to suck.

In not a few cases the original causal meaning is now forgotten and replaced by a transitive meaning. Examples—

paṛháná, to teach, actually meant 'to cause another to read'.

jagáná, to awaken, meant 'to cause another to wake up'.

uṭháná, to lift, meant 'to cause another (thing or person) to rise'.

sam'jháná, to explain, once meant 'to cause another to understand'.

9. ii. Compound Verbs.

Hindi as well as other Modern IA languages has a remarkably important set of verbs which, when compounded with other verbs, give up their own character or signification and serve to tone the force of the preceding verb or somewhat modify its sense.

IX

THE ANCILLARIES. The compound verbs are the result of the law of specialization. In Sanskrit we had desiderative, frequentative, repetitive and other forms. Like postpositions, these ancillary verbs are more independent and handy instruments than the modal and temporal terminations or root-modifying prefixes. Dr. S. K. Chatterji thinks (ODBL. p. 1050) that they are, perhaps, a contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches. It may be pointed out that compound verbs are very regular in Persian, too, for which see the chapter on Idioms.

It may be difficult to find a term which would exactly express the idea added by the secondary verb, but approximately—

(a) **denā** adds intensity, completeness, permission or benefaction to another, thus retaining in the last two senses the idea of 'giving', e.g. **phenk denā,** to throw away, **nikāl denā,** to turn out forcibly, **haṭā denā,** to remove completely, **jāne denā,** to let go, **cal diyā,** died, **darshan denā,** to show oneself. Compare **rakh'nā,** to put, and **rakh denā,** to lay by. Compare Guj. **nār'vī deo,** throw (it) away, Mar. **ṭākūn de,** throw it away, Punj. **suṭ de,** throw away, Beng. **bheṅge deuā,** to break fully.

(b) **lenā** adds reflection, appropriation, and completeness of action affecting oneself. Compare **oṛh lo,** wrap yourself up, and **ḍhāṅk lo,** cover (this thing) up; **pīnā,** to drink, **pī lenā,** to drink up (completely), **nām le lenā,** to repeat the name (of God).

(c) **ānā** implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action, as in **dekh āo,** go and see and come back. In Guj. it has the sense of 'becoming' **vagaḍ'tuṅ āvuṅ,** to become spoilt. Also compare H. **mujhe paṛh'nā ātā hāī,** I know reading, and Mar. **mī jātāṅ yeto,** I can go.

(d) **jānā** adds finality and continuation, and also retains the sense of 'going'. Compare **khānā,** to eat, and **khā jānā,** to eat up, **kām ho gayā,** the work is done, **vah likh'tā jātā hāī** may mean 'he goes on writing', or 'he writes on while going.' **vah rotā jātā hāī,** he goes weeping. Compare S. **vaṅṭhī vaṅj'ṇuṅ,** to take off, **caṛ'thī vaṅj'ṇuṅ,** to go ascending; Beng. **boke jāuā,** to go on chattering.

It also shows passive action, as in H. **khāyā gayā,** was eaten.

(e) **uṭh'nā** shows suddenness, as in **bol uṭh'nā,** to speak up, **kāṅp uṭh'nā,** to tremble by alarm, **cauṅk uṭh'nā,** to be startled.

(f) **baiṭh'ná** suggests suddenness of completion with a shade of irrevocability, and undesirability, as in **már baiṭh'ná,** to beat unintentionally, **maiń kah baiṭhá,** I was obliged to say but I was sorry, **kho baiṭh'ná,** to lose for good, etc.

(g) **ḍál'ná** adds force as in **phoṛ ḍál'ná,** to smash into pieces, **már ḍál'ná,** to beat to death, **pháṛ ḍál'ná,** to tear away, **kar ḍál'ná,** to finish at once. The idea of **ḍál'ná,** to place, is still felt. **kar ḍál'ná** really means 'to do it and place it away' i.e. 'to do away with a thing.' Compare Beng. **phelá** in **muche phelá,** to rub off.

(h) **paṛ'ná** implies, generally, suddenness or chance, as in **sun paṛ'ná,** to listen unawares, **sújh paṛ'ná,** to realize suddenly. It implies urgency in **tumheń kar'ná paṛegá,** you will have to do it.

(i) **cuk'ná** is a completive, as in **vah khá cuká hai,** he has done eating. Compare S. **kare cuk'ṇuń,** to have finished doing; O. **diyá cukiyáchi,** I have done giving. Oriya uses **sár** as **khái sárili,** I have done eating. Bengali also uses **phelá** for intensity and completeness, as **boliye phelá,** to finish speaking.

(j) **kar'ná** suggests frequency of an action, as in **vah áyá kar'tá hai,** he frequently comes, **tum ais kyoń kiyá kar'te ho?** why do you do it again and again. Compare Guj. **karyá kar'vuń,** to keep on doing.

(k) **cáh'ná** denotes desire—**maiń jáná cáh'tá húń,** I want to go, **maiń ne tapasví kí kanyá ko rok'ná cáhá,** I wished to stop the ascetic's daughter. It denotes future tense in **jáná cáh'tá hai,** he is about to go.

(l) **lag'ná** is an inceptive, as in **áp kah'ne lage,** he began to say, **vah paṛh'ne lagá** also means 'he became occupied in reading.' Compare S. **ruaṇ lagio,** he began to cry; Mar. **máruń lág'lá,** he began to strike; Beng. **karite lágil,** he began to do. It implies futurity in **jáne lagá hai,** is about to go.

(m) **sak'ná** adds practicability or potentiality, as in **bol sak'ná,** to be able to speak.

(n) **már'ná,** to strike, adds a sense of undesirability, as in **vah á mará,** he came up (was not wanted), **do rupaye le mará,** took away (though not willingly on my part) two rupees.

(o) **rah'ná** implies continuance in a state, while **jáná, kar'ná,** as detailed above, imply continuance of an action—**vah likh'tá rah'tá hai,** he keeps writing, **nadí bah'tí rah'tí hai,** the river flows on continually. Compare **us'ká sab mál játá rahá hai,** all his

property is gone.

(p) **páná** is an acquisitive ancillary. Compare **maīń baīṭh'ne nahíń páyá thá,** I was not yet allowed to sit, **tum vaháń jáne na páoge,** you will not be allowed to go there. It is equivalent in meaning to the potential **sak'ná,** can.

Note 1. Almost all of these ancillaries imply intensity. Compare **pheńk dená,** to throw away, **khá jáná,** to eat up, **káṭ ḍál'ná,** to cut off, **le lená,** to take away, **gir paṛ'ná,** to fall down, **baīṭh rah'ná,** to sit still, etc. Compare Beng. **keṛe neuá,** to snatch away, **eshe paṛá,** to come along, **diye deuá,** to give away, **keṭe phelá,** to cut down, **boshe jáuá,** to sit down, etc.

Note 2. Sometimes compounding does not add much meaning, as in **sam'jhá dená = sam'jháná ; dikhá dená = dikháná.**

Note 3. Sometimes the signification of the second member is so much intensified that the first loses much of its meaning ; e.g. **caṛh** simply adds the idea of hostility and the meaning of the second element prevails in **caṛh dháná, caṛh áná, caṛh dāūṛ'ná.**

CLOSE AND LOOSE COMPOUNDS. So far as compounding of verbal meaning is concerned, these compounds are of two kinds—

(i) close compound verbs and (ii) loose compound verbs.

When **khá jáo** means 'eat up', it is a close compound and when it means 'having eaten, go', it is a loose compound. In the former case the compound gives one verbal concept. The first verb in a close compound makes the main contribution to that idea, but the second simply modifies its force in some way. More examples—

ro baīṭh'ná, to give way to grief, and **ro uṭh'ná,** to break out crying ; **lāūṭá dená,** to return (a thing), **lāūṭá lená,** to receive it back ; **phoṛ ḍál'ná,** to smash, **ján bújh'kar,** knowingly, **sikháná paṛháná,** to instruct well, **kar kará ke,** having done away, etc.

Hindi also has a special device of forming verbs by adding the same formative verbs, as enumerated above, to nouns, participles, adjectives, and gerunds. Such nominal verbs may be considered along with idiomatic usages for which see VII. 4. and also p. 259. More examples—

lát már'ná, lit. to beat leg, to kick ; **áváj már'ná,** lit. to beat a call, to call ; **pańkhá kar'ná,** lit. to do fan, to fan ; **bhojan kar'ná,** to do food, to eat ; **dikháí dená,** to appear ; **mol lená,** lit. to take on price, to buy ; **samápta kar'ná,** to finish ; **khaṛá**

honá, to stand ; **varṇan kar'ná,** to describe ; **gat honá,** to become gone, to die. **kar'ná** and **honá** are profusely used for such formations. Doing and being, we noted earlier, make up the spirit of a verb.

Nominal and conjugated verbs (**átá hai,** comes, **á rahá hai,** is coming, **áyá hogá,** may have come, etc.) are also close compounds so far as their meaning is concerned.

In the case of loose compounds each member retains, more or less fully, its own proper meaning. Examples—

já sak'ná, to be able to go, **kahá kar'tá thá,** went on saying (used to say), **khá cuk'ná,** to finish eating, **paṛh'te rah'ná,** to keep reading, **kar dekho,** do and see (experiment), **paṛh'ne lag'ná,** to commence reading, **cilláte jáná,** to go crying, **jáne dená,** to let go, **sun'ná cáh'ná,** to be about to listen or to wish to listen, **jáne páyá,** was allowed to go.

dená, kar'ná, jáná are thus used to make close as well as loose compounds.

9. iii. Tenses and Moods.

MODAL AND TEMPORAL CONDITIONS. Moods may be separate categories from tenses for grammarians but a semantician notes that tenses and moods are co-existent.

Moods are simply dispositions of the soul and they may relate to the present, the past or the future time. Thus condition, order, wish, request, concession, doubt, presumption, possibility or contingency, definite statement, indefiniteness, completion or imperfection of action may be expressed in relation to any tense. Examples—

(a) Condition—**jo terá guru yah ján'tá hai**.....(present), if your preceptor knows it ; **yadi vah bímár paṛe**.....(present or future), if he may fall sick ; **yadi vah játá**.....(past), if he went or had gone ; **yadi vah gayá hotá**.....(past), if he had gone ; **yadi vah gayá** .....(future), if he would go.

(b) Order, wish and request may be expressed in the subjunctive form. In fact, order, wish and request are shades of the same meaning. The idea of action in each case has more or less a tinge of the will of the speaker, which, if strongly expressed, is order, and if humbly indicated is request. Compare—

par'mátmá bacáye (wish), may God protect ; **baccá suhá**

rahe (blessing), may the child be happy; **vah uṭh'kar muṅh dhoye,** (order) he may wash his mouth.

This form refers to the near future or the immediate present. The other forms which express the same moods are—

bāiṭh (present), shows the seniority of the speaker; **bāiṭho** (present) shows affection; **bāiṭhiye** (present) is more polite; **bāiṭhiyegá** (present or future) is politer still; **bāiṭh'ná** (future) shows the authority of the speaker and signifies direction.

Sometimes these moods may be expressed by the concessive forms noted above. There is a little difference between wish and condition, both being the expressions of the same mood of the mind.

Command or request, with reference to the past tense, is meaningless in that it is simply a wishful condition, as in (a) above.

(c) Presumption and contingency are allied in meaning. Examples—

játe hoṅge, játá ho, might be going (present and future),
gayá ho, gaye hoṅge, might have gone (past),
jáyeṅ, might go (future).

(d) Definiteness—**vah játá hāi** (present), he goes; **vah gayá** (past), he went; **vah jáy'gá** (future), he will go; **vah gayá hāi** (present perfect), he has gone; **vah játá thá** (past imperfect), he was going; **vah já rahá hāi, vah já rahá thá, vah játá rahegá, vah já rahá hogá** are progressive forms of all tenses.

(e) Perfection of action, meaning 'already'—**vah gayá hāi** (present), he has gone; **ve gaye hoṅge** (presumptive), he would have gone; **vah gayá ho** (contingent), he might have gone; **vah gayá hotá** (conditional), if he had gone.

(f) Imperfection of action—**vah játá hāi** (present), he goes; **ve játe hoṅge** (presumptive), they might be going. **vah játá thá** (past), he used to go; **vah játá** (conditional), if he had been going; **vah játá ho** (contingent), he might be going.

The progressive forms also denote imperfection of action. We have already said and shown in these pages that the grammatical forms are not always the same as the semantical forms. The tenses also show that the form of the tense does not necessarily give the meaning of the tense.

SEMANTIC TENSE. Besides the present form itself, the present tense may be expressed by the past tense, as in **mālá ne khánā khá**

liyá, I have finished my meal, or even by the future tense, as in **baiṭhiyegá,** please sit down.

The past tense may also be expressed by the present form, as in historical or vivid narrative, e. g. **vyás válmíki ke bád hue hailá** means 'Vyása lived after Válmíki', **ráni mar játi hai, to rájá sir viváh kar letá hai,** when the queen died, the king was remarried. The future tense is used to imply the past tense in reported speech, e. g. **us'ne kahá thá ki mailá áúngá, parantu vah na áyá,** he said that he *would* come but he did not.

The future tense, besides its own form, may be denoted by the present form, as in **vah jáne lagá hai,** he is about to go, **mailá ag'le saptáh á rahá húń,** I am coming in the next week, **kyá málúm vah átá hai ki nahíń,** who knows whether he comes or not? or by the past tense, as in **yadi mailá vardhá gayá to gándhí jí ke darshan karúngá,** lit. if I went to Wardhá, I shall see Gándhiji.

FUTURITY DEFINED. In this connection, we may also note the shade of future meaning expressed in the following forms—

(a) **yah sam'jho ki mailá gayá to som'vár ko calá gayá,** take it that if I went, I would have gone on Monday, shows indefinite intention.

(b) **mailá kal dillí jáne válá húń,** I am about to go to Delhi tomorrow, shows mere intention.

(c) **mujhe kal jáná hai,** I have to go tomorrow, shows that the speaker is obliged to go.

(d) **isí din to mailń ek sabhá kar'ne ko húń,** I am to convene a meeting on the same day, shows definite intention.

(e) **mailá yah kám nahíń kar'ne ká,** I amnot to do that work, shows firm resolve and also points out to the characteristic assertiveness of the speaker.

9. iv. The Voice.

THE PRAYOGAS. Indian grammarians have enumerated three verbal constructions or Prayogas, namely Subjective **(kartari prayog),** Objective **(karmaṇi prayog)** and Impersonal **(bháve prayog).** From the definitions and illustrations, it is doubtful whether we have

actually three or seven constructions or Prayogas. Semantically we have only two voices (**vácya**), the word Prayoga referring only to the formal aspect of the verb. **maĩ́ṅ bolá,** I said, and **maĩ́ṅ ne kahá,** I said, are subjective and objective only in construction and do not involve semantic variation. On the other hand, **maĩ́ṅ ne kháyá,** I ate, and **maĩ́ṅ ne kháná kháyá,** I ate meal, have the same Prayoga but there is great semantic difference. The one has a general meaning and the other a restricted sense. **vah láyá** and **us'ne lá diyá** are different in meaning, not on account of the force of the construction, but on account of the single and the compound verbs. Again, semantically, the object is not at all the important element in the objective construction. The verb refers to the activity of the subject.

THE TWO VOICES. The active voice makes our sentences more easily and rapidly understood. It connects the action with the doer directly. The passive voice, although indispensable, is sometimes clumsy and sluggish. Compare—

rání ne saheliyoṅ ko buláyá, the queen called her friends, and **saheliyáṅ rání se bulái gaíṅ,** the friends were called by the queen.

The passive voice shows that the object is all important. It is a grammatical device to bring the object into prominence by making it a subject, as in **cor piṭá gayá,** the thief was thrashed. It, sometimes, denotes that the subject governed by the verb is unknown, as in **áj hukum sunáyá gayá,** the order was given today. The form in such cases also implies authority as in **áp ko yah cetáv'ní dí gaí thí,** you were given such a warning, **tum'ko yah batáyá játá hai ki...,** you are hereby informed that..., **yah phir dekhá jáy'gá,** it shall be seen again.

The active voice for such sentences would not be so emphatic. Sometimes the two forms suggest a great difference in meaning. Examples—

maĩ́ṅ shánta hokar nahíṅ baiṭh'tá, I do not sit quietly, but **mujh se shánta hokar nahíṅ baiṭhá játá,** I *cannot* sit quietly; or **laṛ'ke ne roṭí nahíṅ kháí,** the boy did not (himself) take food, though he could, but **laṛ'ke se roṭí nahíṅ kháí gaí,** the boy could not eat food, because he had, perhaps, acute toothache; etc., etc.

The active use of passive action in the following is remarkable

anáj bik'tá hai, corn is sold. **kháná pak'tá hai**, food is cooked.

The passive meaning may also be expressed in some other forms, as—

(a) **aisá kah'te haiń**, it is said. **sút kát'te mr us se kap'ṛá bun'te haiń**, cotton is spun and cloth is made of it.

(b) **sarak siṅc rahí hai**, the road is being sprinkled with water. **ghar ban'tá hai**, the house is made.

(c) **sun'ne meń áyá hai**, it has been heard.

(d) **ján par'tá hai**, it is known.

(e) **yah ríti pracalit huí**, the practice was started.

(f) **yah bát merí jání huí hai**, It is known to me.

etc., etc.

9. v. The Infinitive.

AS A NOUN. The infinitive is called by Hindi grammarians **kriyárthak saṅjńiyá**, i.e. a noun giving the meaning of a verb. In fact, it is a verb giving the meaning of a noun. Anyhow, it is a noun in its derivation as well as application, e.g. as a subject in **vahán jáná tumháre liye acchá nahíń**, to go there is not advisable for you, or as object in **us ne tujhe tair'ná sikháyá**, he taught you to swim, **maiń parh'ná ján'tá húń**, I know reading, etc. It serves the purpose of a gerund, too. More examples of its use as a noun, regularly declined, are—

jab páṅc baras bít'ne par áye, when five years came about (were about) to pass.

corí kar'ne se kyá milegá ? What will you gain by stealing ?

vah dene ká nahíń, he is not willing to give.

prárth'ná kar'ne par vah mán gayá, he agreed on making a request.

FUTURITY. The use of the infinitive as an imperative has been noted. Whether as a substantive or as a verb, the idea of futurity is markedly present in infinitives. Compare—

vah jáná cáh'tá hai, he wants to go, **ek din sab kí yah gati honí hai**, one day this has to be the fate of all, **tum ko jáná cáhiye**, you should go, **mujhe jáne do**, let me go,

dúdh ubal'ne válá hai, milk is about to boil, **chuṭṭí meṅ ap'ná páṭh paṛh'ná**, do read the lesson on a holiday.

9. vi. Participles.

Hindi has three kinds of participles—Imperfect, Perfect and Conjunctive. The following observations are important regarding their meaning.

AS ADVERBS. As derived from and qualifying verbs, they are, in effect, adverbs. Compare—

vah patra likh'te hue soc rahá hai, he is thinking while writing the letter.

maiṅ páṅv dhoe baiṭhí húṅ, I am sitting with my feet washed.

mantrí ko sam'jhá kar kahá, having explained, he said to the minister.

AS VERBS. The names Imperfect, Perfect and Conjunctive are meaningful words. The imperfect participle represents an act or state as in the process of being done or experienced, i.e. not yet concluded. e. g. **háthí jhúm'tá huá cal'tá hai**, the elephant goes waving, **vah mar'te mar'te bacá**, i. e. he was saved while dying.

The perfect participle represents an act completed, e.g. **rájá ko mare do varṣa bít gaye**, two years have passed since the king died. The conjunctive participle manages to express jointly two verbs at a time, one preceding the other, as **us'ne vahán jákar kahá**, he went there and said.

The conjunctive participle governs two actions, one done before the other. The conjunctive participle also expresses the cause of the main verb, as in **vah tír khákar bhágá**, he ran away having been shot by an arrow. It further expresses various other circumstances accompanying the action of the main verb, as **kálindí ne hari ko páṅv dabákar jagáyá**, Kálindi awakened Hari by pressing his feet, **maiṅ ne uṭh'kar púchá**, I asked having stood up (showing manner).

Thus participles also function, semantically though not grammatically, as verbs.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE. The imperfect and conjunctive participles are active, while the perfect participle is generally passive, when used with its verbal force. **merá sukh dekh'te tumheń burá lag'tá hāi,** you see me happy and at the same time you become unhappy. **us'ne kháná khákar patra paṛhá,** he first took his meals and then read the letter, but **gale meń phánsí ḍále hue,** with a halter thrown round the neck. There are, however, instances in which the meaning of the perfect participle is also active, as in **rájá ne bráhmaṇ ko áyá dekhá,** the king saw the priest come.

There is, at times greater force and clarity in the participial form than in the absolute form of the verb. Compare—

játe hue us'ne bacce ko dhakká de diyá, he pushed the boy while going, and **vah já rahá thá to us'ne bacce ko dhakká de diyá,** while he was going, he pushed the boy.

rájá ne bráhmaṇ ko áyá dekhá, the king saw the Bráhmaṇa come, and **rájá ne dekhá to bráhmaṇ áyá huá hāi,** when the king saw the Bráhmaṇa had come.

tír caṛhákar márá, hit him aiming an arrow, and **tír caṛháyá mār márá,** aimed an arrow and hit him.

Here it may be noted that the semantic variety of Hindi constructions is not available in English.

FURTHER SEMANTIC CHANGES. The perfect and imperfect participles may also represent adjectives and nouns. Examples—

(a) Adjectives, attributive as well as predicative, as in—

strí játí huí boli, the woman, who was going, said.

paṛhá likhá ád'mí, an educated man.

bát gaí bíti ho gai, the matter was past and gone.

(b) Nouns, mainly by ellipsis, as in—

sote in **māiń abhí sote se bhí nahíń uṭhá** = sleep.

kahí in **merí kahí nahíń sun'tá** = words.

mar'tá in **mar'tá kyá na kar'tá** = the dying man.

kaṭí chaṭí in **dil kí kaṭí chaṭí** = bitter feelings.

The conjunctive participle has the following meanings besides its verbal and adverbial forces—

(a) Comparison—**vah mujh se kahíń baṛh'kar hāi,** he is better than myself. Compare Braj **bach'rá kari ham jányo táhi,** I took him as a calf.

(b) Instrument—**man, vacan, karma kar'ke,** by heart, by word

and by deed.

(c) noun in opposition—**paṇḍit jí shástrí kar'ke prasiddha hain,** Panditji is known by the name of Shastri.

10. GENDER

10. Gender.

In Hindi, besides nouns, adjectives and verbs also have forms of grammatical gender. Semantically, however, there is very negligible advantage of this device, as, for instance, in **maiṅ játí húṅ** (I, female, go), **tú játí hai** (you, female, go), there is no ambiguity as it does exist in English. Verbal gender, is, especially, significant when a personal pronoun is governed, because Hindi pronouns have no distinctive forms even in the third person.

In nouns, masculine and feminine forms distinguish meanings.

(a) Some forms denote simply opposite sexes, as **munná,** boy, **munní,** girl; **beṭá,** son, **beṭí,** daughter; **sálá,** brother-in-law, **sálí,** sister-in-law. The relationship indicated is that of brother and sister.

(b) In some forms, the feminine gender denotes the wife of the male, as **dádá,** grandfather, **dádí,** grandmother; **sálá,** brother-in-law, **sal'haj,** brother-in-law's wife.

(c) In some forms, the meanings of (a) and (b) above are combined, as **dhobí,** washerman, **dhobin,** washerwoman; **bak'rá,** he-goat, **bak'rí,** she goat. Such forms are quite numerous.

Note the masculine forms of **bahin,** sister, i.e. **bhái,** brother, and **bah'noí,** sister's husband.

(d) Some feminine forms, especially of names of inanimate objects, show diminution. Compare **loṭá,** jar, **luṭiyá,** a small jar; **pattá,** leaf, **pattí,** leaflet; **golá,** ball, **golí,** pill.

(e) Some forms denote different objects or concepts, as Skt. **vyaṅjana,** consonant, **vyaṅjaná,** suggestiveness; or H. **chátá,** umbrella, **chátí,** chest; **aṅgúṭhá,** thumb, **aṅgúṭhí,** ring; **guṇḍá,** villain, **guṇḍí,** a ball of thread; **ghaṛá,** pitcher, **ghaṛí,** watch or clock. Also see page 112.

(f) Some gender-forms distinguish shades of meanings, as **ghaṛá** and **ghaṛí** above; or **gag'rá,** a metal-pitcher, **gag'rí,** an earthen pitcher; **ḍorá,** thread, **ḍor,** rope, etc.

X

SYNTACTICAL MEANING

X

SYNTACTICAL MEANING

1. SYNTAX AND CONTEXT.

1. Syntax and Context.

The word syntax, derived from two Greek words ('Syn' together and 'taxis', arranging), means arranging together of words (H. **pad'vinyás**). As a subject in Semantics, Syntax has to answer two questions:

1. How are meanings expressed in sentences and parts of sentences?

2. What are the various meanings of words and their forms in varied contexts?

The second question has been answered in the foregoing pages. Here we shall discuss the first question.

The knowledge of words is not an end by itself. It should help us to know the meaning of connected speech which is real language. "Anyone who, in compiling the history of the variation of meanings, took the words only into consideration would run the risk of losing a portion of the facts, or be in danger of explaining them wrongly".* A language is not formed solely of words, it is composed

* *Breal: p. 294.*

of groups of words and phrases and sentences. A sentence is rightly called the unit of significant speech. Verbal cognition is derivable from a sentence only.*

It is only when words are put together and 'modified', and when they are expounded by the context that we can get their meaning with some accuracy. Words, commonly, take meaning through the influence of other words.

It has already been shown at length in the previous chapter that there are, strictly speaking, no parts of speech in Hindi independently. Their function as nouns, adjectives, etc., is determined by the other connected words in the sentence, i.e. it is the syntactical meaning of the group of words, or of a whole sentence, sometimes, which determines the grammatical value of individual words in a Hindi sentence.

It may also be noted that the sentence has the effect of restricting the meaning of all its members. In **rám'candra ne sítá ko van meń bhej diyá,** Rámacandra sent Sítá into the forest, the images presented by the words, **rám'candra, sítá** and **van** are restricted to one circumstance. Rámacandra, here, does not appear as a warrior, as an obedient son, or as an incarnation of God, but as a stern ruler. Sítá is not a bride, a prisoner or a queen, but as a pitiable exile. The forest does not present itself with all its beauties or its wild beasts, but as a place containing the exiled Sítá. Compare also **ád'mí,** man, or men, or men and women, **ád'mí mar rahe hāĩ,** men are dying, and **ád'mí jel meń mar rahe hāĩ,** men are dying in jail. Consider the pictures presented to the mind at the mention of the following—

(i) **yátrí,** a traveller, a pilgrim; (ii) **jaháj,** a ship; (iii) **jaháj par yátrí,** a traveller on a ship; (iv) **jaháj par yátrí baiṭhá hai,** a traveller is sitting on the ship.

The meaning of the subject, the object and the verb is further restricted by various kinds of adjuncts, and the sentence presents a particularly specialized idea. Compare with the above **ayodhyá ke rájá rám'candra ne satí sítá ko bhayának ban meń bhej'te samay kahá,** Ráma, the king of Ayodhyá said to the chaste Sítá at the time of sending her to the dreadful forest. **do bímár ád'mí lábhmr ki seṇṭral jel meń mar rahe hāĩ,** two sick persons are

* Jagadísh in "shabdashakti": 12.

dying in the Lahore Central jail. **kináre par khaṛe us jahāj par koí búṛhá sá yátrí kur'sí par baiṭhá hai**, some old traveller is sitting on that ship which is standing by the coast.

Thus the meaning of an individual word is defined by other words connected with it.

The exact meaning of the speaker can be understood in a context. Truly speaking it is not the sentence which constitutes the linguistic unit, it is the whole context, the whole setting, in which words are placed. The several words of a child are each a sentence, but they convey a definite meaning only in a context. Its **'khá'** may mean 'I have eaten', 'you may eat', 'I want to eat', or 'he has eaten', etc. Compare also the language of telegrams, e.g. **amrt'sar pah'lí váp'sí** (lit. Amritsar first return), which may mean "I shall return to Amritsar on the 1st" or "he shall return to Amritsar by the first train" and so on. The sender and the addressee fully and unmistakably follow each other on account of the community of their context. The phraseology of a talk at one end of a telephone affords interesting examples. Even in common talk, curt expressions have to be used and construed simply by the help of the context. **hán, yah to hai**, (Yes, it is, indeed), **ho áye ?** (Have you been ?), **cale calo** (go on) are fully understood in a context only.

Even regular sentences need the prop of a context. **ve áye haiṅ** is a complete sentence, but it is the context which can determine whether it means 'he has come', 'she has come' or 'they have come'.

The context makes the meaning precise and understandable. Homonyms, polysemantic words or words used in and changed into a different sense are easily understood in different contexts. Sometimes we say one thing and mean another, yet we are understood on account of the context, as when telling the cycle-repairer **pampa meṅ havá bhar do** (fill air in the pump) when we have to say **pampa se havá bhar do,** or when sending for our daughter, Indira, by saying to the servant **sarojiní ko bulá lá** (call Sarojini).

Though illogical, these sentences do convey a meaning and semantically constitute a unit thought each. We do not seem to agree with Jespersen when he says that 'a sentence is a (relatively) complete and independent human utterance.* Rather, a sentence is a unit of thought.

Philosophy of Grammar, p. 307.

In reading, we go on skipping over words and sometimes even sentences and yet we are able to understand the meaning. At times we are enabled to know the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context.

Finally, it may be noted that a sentence does not always denote the meaning of its component parts. Sometimes it is expressive of the sense that is virtually different from that which is expressed by its constituents, either individually or collectively. Vishvanáth asserts that there can be no *arthabodha* without **tátparyajñiyáma,** i.e., understanding of the meaning the speaker wishes to convey by a sentence. We have to read between lines, and that is possible only with reference to the context. Further, it has been noted that our idioms, proverbs, abuses, curses and blessings do not generally convey the meaning of the component words.

It may be added that the above discussion, does not mean to suggest that words have no meaning apart from the context. If that were true, dictionaries would be useless. In common parlance, too, words have their significant place. But there is no doubt that context helps us to *specify* and *define* the meaning.

2. FORMS OF SENTENCES.

(i) SIMPLE, COMPOUND AND COMPLEX.

THE SIMPLE VS. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE — THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE — SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS OF A COMPLEX SENTENCE — COMPOUND SENTENCES — PARATACTICAL SENTENCES.

(ii) ELLIPTICAL AND TAUTOLOGICAL SENTENCES.

(a) ELLIPSIS.

GESTURE LANGUAGE — ONE-WORD SENTENCE — JUXTAPOSED WORDS — INCIDENCE OF ELLIPSIS : GRAMMATICAL AND CONTEXTUAL.

(b) TAUTOLOGY.

THE USE OF TAUTOLOGY — A BAD STYLE.

(iii) COHERENT AND ANACOLUTHIC SENTENCES.

COHERENCE — ANACOLUTHON — SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

(iv) STATEMENTS, WISHES, QUESTIONS, EXCLAMATIONS.

(v) AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

AFFIRMATION — NEGATION.

2. i. Simple, Compound and Complex.

The relation between the nature of a sentence and its signification is intimate. Almost every kind of idea can be expressed in a simple sentence or sentences. Generally, the simple sentence is the best means of expressing a simple idea. If the ideas are interdependent and co-ordinate, their connection and meaning may be better shown in a compound sentence. If the ideas are complicated, one depending on the other, they are sub-divided and elucidated by making clauses subordinate to the principal idea. A complex idea would not be readily understood in such a sentence with all kinds of adjuncts added to the subject, the object and the verb, as the following—

kyá nic ath'vá pápí mr krtaghna manuṣya kabhí ap'ne bac'pan se bane áye mitroṅ ke prati bhalái tathá sevá ká koí choṭá moṭá kám kar'ne kí icchá kar sak'te hãĩ? (Can low or sinful and ungrateful persons ever wish to do an act of kindness or service of any sort towards their friends associated since boyhood ?)

THE SIMPLE VS. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE. Such a thought is easily comprehended if subdivided into clauses and arranged systematically to help understanding. But it may be pointed out that the complex sentence is, as a rule, the literary man's expedient. The device in colloquial vernacular, as we shall discuss later, is generally different. The main object of splitting a simple sentence into clauses is to call special attention to one or another of a fact and its causes. Compare—

tum ko van meṅ bas'ná kab yogya hãĩ (To live in the jungle, does it behove you) *and* **tum ko yah kab yogya hãĩ ki van meṅ baso** (Does it behove you that you should live in the forest)?

dús'roṅ kí cintá kar'ne vále yahán kaí hãĩṅ (Here there are many people mindful about others) *and* **yahán aise kaí log hãĩṅ jo dús'roṅ kí cintá kar'te hãĩṅ** (There are many such people here who care about others).

In the complex sentences the noun, the adjective and the adverb have been reduced to clauses and thus made prominent. We can grammatically reduce a complex sentence to a simple one and *vice versa*. But the difference of meaning between the two devices is

clear. For example, **savere ham log báhar gaye** may imply emphasis on **savere** (in the morning), **ham log** (we), or **báhar gaye** (went out). The complex sentence, on the other hand, restricts the meaning by making the adverb prominent as a clause in **jab saverá huá to ham log báhar gaye** (When it was morning, then we went out). If the speaker wants to stress **ham log** (we people), he would say: **ham hāĩń ve log jo savere báhar gaye,** we are the people who went out in the morning; and so on.

THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. This, in fact, is the main semantic function of a subordinate clause. By making it dependent, we invite greater attention to it, the principal clause serving to arouse expectation. Compare—

maĩń vahāń kháná kháne ke liye gayá, (I went there to take meals), and **maĩń vahāń gayá ki kháná khá áúń,** (I went there in order that I might take meals).

sone válá sab kuch kho detá hāĩ (The sleeper loses everything), and **jo sotá hāĩ vah sab kuch kho detá hāĩ** (He who sleeps loses everything).

Whether subjective or predicative, a noun clause is a useful device to call attention to a statement, order, wish and so on. Examples—

maĩń kah'tá húń ki vah á rahá hāĩ, I say that he is coming.

maĩń cáh'tá húń ki jáúń, I wish that I may go.

An adjectival clause is more helpful in limiting or defining the antecedent noun or pronoun than its equivalent adjective in a simple sentence. Compare—

unhoń ne jo kuch diyá usí se mujhe param santoṣ hāĩ (I am satisfied with what he gave me), and **us'kí dí huí cíz par mujhe param santoṣ hāĩ** (I am satisfied with his gift).

jis'kí láṭhí usí kí bhaĩńs (He who has the stick has the buffalo), and **láṭhí vále kí bhaĩńs** (The man with the stick has the buffalo).

The complex sentences above are certainly more distinct in meaning than their simple equivalents. The examples of adverbial clauses may also be considered.

Temporal—**jab áp cáheńge maĩn pahuńc jáúńgá,** I shall reach when you desire.

Local—**jahāń sumati tahāń sampati náná,** Where there is

good will, there is prosperity, too.

Modal—**jāise áp bol'te hāiń vāise maĺń nahíń bol sak'tá,** I cannot speak as you do.

Causal—**mujhe mar'ná nahíń jo terá pakṣa karúń ?** Have I not to die that I should take your side ?

Conditional—**yadi vah na áyá to dekhá jáy'gá,** It will be seen if he does not come.

Frankly speaking, it is not possible to give a meaningful equivalent for the above in simple sentences and that is a clear proof of the superiority of the complex sentences in certain expressions. Their semantic value cannot be ignored.

SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS OF A COMPLEX SENTENCE. It is not only the degree of emphasis or the clarity of the prominent idea that is effected by a complex sentence, the difference between a complex and a simple sentence also lies in semantic appropriateness. A clause would, sometimes, help to define an idea that could not be exactly expressed in a simple sentence, which may either make no sense or mean differently. Compare—

jāisá desh vāisá veṣ, Do in Rome as the Romans do.

gáṛí it'ní dhíre calí ki shahar ke báhar din nikal áyá, the train went so slowly that it was sunrise before it reached the town.

bádal phaṭe to kahán tak thig'lí, when the cloud bursts, how can you patch it ?

Many of our proverbs owe their semantic superiority to this way of expression.

Conversely, a complex sentence would, sometimes, be non-sense or vague as compared to its simple parallel. Compare—

ṭake ká sab khel hāi (It is all a play of money) but **yah jit'ná khel hāi vah sab ṭake ká hāi** (The play that it is, it is of money).

is ke bád kyá huá, what happened after this ?

COMPOUND SENTENCES. Similarly a compound sentence has its place in the realm of meaning in so far as it is the best device for expressing copulative, disjunctive or adversative ideas which are semantically interdependent as such. Compare—

maĺń pahuńcá ūr vah cal paṛá, I reached and he started.

maĺń bāiṭhúń yá jáúń ? May I sit or go ?

maĩ́ṅ to á gayá húṅ parantu vah nahíṅ pahuṅcá, I have come but he nas not.

If these sentences are converted into ,simple or complex ones, the meaning will certainly change. Compare with the above **jab maĩ́ṅ pahuṅcá to vah cal paṛá,** When I reached, he started, or **mere pahuṅc'ne par vah cal paṛá,** He started on my reaching there.

Again, it is not always possible to express in a simple or a complex sentence an idea which can be adequately and effectively expressed in a compound sentence. It would not be safe to convert the disjunctive and adversative sentences above without violating their meaning.

PARATACTICAL SENTENCES. In colloquial Hindi the simple sentence is most predominant and the compound sentence more prevalent than the complex. This is semantically very important. Propositions arise in the mind in their simple form. Their relationship with one another is suggested rather than expressed. Parataxis, therefore, is the spontaneous expression of the common man. **van meṅ bas'ná, yah tum ko kab yogya haĩ** (to live in the forest, is it befitting you ?) is not only the more popular but also the more forceful form. Similarly **maĩ́ṅ áp'ko bhúl jáúṅ, yah kaĩse ho sak'tá haĩ ?** (I should forget you, how is it possible ?). A form in parataxis is more prevalent than its hypotactical equivalent.

Parataxis manages to draw the attention of the hearer by other means, e.g. intonation or word-order, which we shall consider in a later section.

2. ii. Elliptical and Tautological Sentences.

2. ii(a). Ellipsis.

Ellipsis, we have already seen, plays a great part in language. In poetical and rhetorical expressions it often lends dignity and impressiveness, with something of an archaic flavour; and to colloquial speech it gives precision and brevity and saves time and trouble. Most of our idiomatic phrases and proverbs are elliptical. Ellipsis is a semantic challenge to grammar. It is a syntactic figure of speech.

GESTURE LANGUAGE. The simplest and briefest form of elliptical expression is available in a gesticulation which supplies the place of a sentence, a frown, a smile or a nod, which speaks as plainly as words.

ONE WORD SENTENCES. Then, there are words which, when accompanied by gestures or tones, make sentences—**le jáo,** take away; **pare,** away; or, **jáoge?** (will you go ?) **jáoge!** (will you go !)

The shortest linguistic unit of elliptical type is the one word sentence—

cup (silence) = **cup ho jáo** (keep silence).

aur ! (more) = **aur kuch cáhiye ?** Do you want more ?

háṅ (yes) = **háṅ yah bát ṭhík hai** (yes, it is right).

sac ? (true) = **kyá yah sac hai ?** (Is it true ?)

Also note **badhái** (congratulations), **dhanyavád** (thanks), **cor !** (thief !), **ág** (fire) !! **andar** (in) = I would not go in, etc.

JUXTAPOSED WORDS. Elliptical sentences may be formed just by the juxtaposition of subject and predicate without a verb, as when children express themselves, **máṅ** ... **roṭí** (mother, bread) = **máṅ ne mujhe roṭí dí** (mother gave me a piece of bread), or **máṅ jí, mujhe bhí roṭí cáhiye,** (mother, I also want a piece of bread), or when a foreigner or Non-Hindi speaker says: **peshávar** ..... **ṭikaṭ**— (Peshawar ..... ticket) = **bábú sáhab, peshávar ke liye ṭikaṭ díjiye** (Babu Sahib, please give one ticket for Peshawar), or when we utter an emotional sentence **maiṅ cor !** (I, thief !) = **kyá maiṅ cor hún,** (am I a thief ?), etc.

Such forms are fairly common in general conversation.

INCIDENCE OF ELLIPSIS—GRAMMATICAL AND CONTEXTUAL. Ellipsis is permissible only when it assures clear understanding of meaning inspite of it. This is possible only when the omitted word or group of words is understood, *either* (a) by the most common consent which forms the idiom or grammatical usage of a particular language, *or* (b) from the given context. Hindi prefers to omit the use of various grammatical forms in particular phrases and idiomatic expressions. Examples—

(i) Subject (generally a pronoun which is denoted by the form of the verb), as in **sun'te haiṅ ki áj á jáyeṅge,** *We* hear that *he*

will come today, **áiye,** Please come, **jáo,** go ('you' being understood), **abhí átá hún,** *I* am just coming, **á gaye?** has *he* come? or, have *you* come?

The Indian woman, who does not mention the name of her husband, would say **á gaye** to mean "my husband has come".

(ii) The object of a transitive verb, as in—

vah bahut pítá hai, he drinks much (water or wine).

maĩ khátá hún, I eat (an eatable).

vah paṛh'tá hai, he reads (lesson or book).

viváh ke bád ján loge, you will know (the condition) after marriage.

merí bhí suno, Listen mine (word) also.

(iii) Verb 'to be' or a verb of motion, as in—

dúr ke ḍhol suhávne, distant drums *are* attractive.

ap'ká chátá, This *is* your umbrella.

kaun? Who = **kaun áyá,** who *has come*?

kidhar, whither = **kidhar ko já rahe ho,** whither are you going?

(iv) A number of conjunctions, as in—

naukar bolá, purohit jí áye haĩn, The servant said *that* the priest had come.

áp burá na mánen to ek bát kahún, *If* you don't mind, I may say something.

Paratactical sentences are generally of this type.

(v) Postpositions, as in—

laṛ'ká kis din áyegá, *On* what day will the boy come?

áj rát varṣá hogí, It will rain (*at*) this night.

vah ap'ne ghar rah'tá hai, He lives *in* his house.

(vi) Subordinate clauses may be omitted, as in—

us'ne it'ná márá ki bas, he beat him so hard that alas (noun clause).

kah'te to haĩn, they do say (noun clause).

jo ho, that may happen (adjectival clause).

jo ájáiyá, as it is ordered (adjectival clause).

áp khá len to, You may eat, then (adverbial clause).

agar maĩn bád'sháh hotá, If I had been a king (adverbial clause).

The following are examples of ellipsis, in which the context is provided by what precedes or what follows—

(i) Subject, in **vah áyá ūr gayá,** he came and (he) went. **patte súkh rahe hāīń is liye kále dikháí dete hāīń,** leaves are drying, therefore (they) look pale.

(ii) Predicate, in **rám likh sak'tá hāī ūr krṣṇa nahíń,** Ráma can write, not Krishna (verb). **merá ghar láhūr hāī, áp'ká ?** my home is Lahore, yours? (object, adverb and verb).

(iii) Adjunct, in **mere bacce ūr bháí,** my children and (my) brothers.

(iv) Postpositions, in **dukánoń ūr daftaroń meń,** in shops and (in) offices. **baccoń ūr búṛhoń ke liye,** for children and (for) old men. Etc. etc.,

It occurs frequently in a dialogue that words of one speaker are not repeated by another, as in **kal caleńge?** Will you go tomorrow? **acchá,** all right (I shall go tomorrow).

Ellipsis is very common in answers where the complete form of answer reflects that of question and is, therefore, sufficiently well-known not to require full expression.

yah ghar kis'ká hāī (Whose house is this)? **hamárá,** (It is) our (house).

vah kab áy'gá (when will he come)? **abhí,** (he will come) just now.

2. ii(b). Tautology.

THE USE OF TAUTOLOGY. Tautology is the reverse of ellipsis. It occurs when the speaker is not quite sure of his hearer's capacity or willingness to apprehend what he says. He emphasizes his words by repeating them. It is a common form of colloquial speech. Examples—

samudra ke kináre par bahut se sthanoń meń namak ke kár'kháne hāīń, namak samudra se nikal'tá hāī ná, to samudra ke kináre par kár'kháne hāīń. bahut se sthánoń meń āīse kár'kháne hāīń. (There are salt factories at various places on the seacoast. Salt is obtained from the sea, so the factories are on she sea coast. Such factories are at many places).

ek thá magar'maccha ūr ek thá gídaṛ, gídaṛ jo thá us'kí magar'maccha se dostí thí. donoń ne ek bár kuch kám kar'ne kí ṭháni. kám kar'ne kí jo ṭháni to saláh kar'ne lage. saláh

kar'te kar'te ..... (There was a crocodile and there was a jackal. That jackal had friendship with the crocodile. Both the friends once decided to start some business, they began to confer. After conferring.....)

There is another kind of tautology in Hindi, as in any other composite languages, that is, when the word is further translated into a periphrastic expression, or when some difficult word or idea is supplemented and explained by synonyms. Examples—

is ká ullekh kar dene se sandigdhatá miṭ játí hai, phir shak nahíń rah'tá (By mentioning this all uncertainty is removed, and then no doubt is left).

yah krdanta sadá avikárí rah'tá hai arthát is'ká rúp nahíń badal'tá, (This derivative remains indeclinable, i.e. it does not change its form).

A BAD STYLE. Very often tautology makes the langauge clumsy and the meaning unhealthy. Compare—

is ke bád ve vápas lauṭ áye, After this they returned *back.*

yah aisí paheli hai jis'ká sul'jhá sak'ná sambhav nahíń ho sak'tá, It is such a riddle that the possibility of its solution is not *possible.*

prátah kál ke samay, At the time of morning-time.

In some expressions tautology is the natural vehicle of emphatic speech. Examples—

ap ap'ne man se socen, Think in your *own mind.*

jará áńkh se dekho, See *with your eyes.*

Also consider **laṛ'ke báhar na khaṛe hoń, bhítar á jáyen,** the boys should not stand outside, *they should come in.* **kyá tum ján'te ho ki cíní kaise banáte haiń, málúm hai tumhen?** Do you know how they make sugar? *Do you?,* **tumhen vahán cár baje pahuńc jáná cáhiye, pahuńcoge ná cár baje?** You should reach there at four o'clock. *Will you?* At *four.*

2. iii. Coherent and Anacoluthic Sentences.

COHERENCE. The words in a sentence must have natural proximity and compatibility. These characteristics form the mediate causes with regard to the comprehension of the meaning of a

sentence. Proximity or contiguity implies that words that are uttered at intervals cannot have an inter-relation amongst them so as to constitute a significant sentence. For instance, if the first word is pronounced now and the next half an hour afterwards, the succession of words would be interrupted. It also means that words must be placed in an order sanctioned by common usage. For instance, in Hindi a postposition must be placed immediately after the words it depends on and not after a word to which it does not refer, or that an attributive adjective must precede and not follow the noun.

Competency or consistency means that we cannot construct a sentence out of words which are not grammatically expectant or the meanings of which are mutually incompatible. A sentence like **tum kyoṅki huṅgá vah kahá savere áo ko** fails to convey any meaning. Similarly **am'ríká ká ek jaháj cín meṅ makán baná rahá hai** (An American ship is building a house in China), **vah ág se siṅc'tá hai** (he irrigates with fire), though grammatically expectant, are logically inconsistent. They are not semantic units of thought.

A sentence is coherent when all its parts are mutually expectant and logically consistent. It helps the trend of understanding which becomes even and easy. The importance of coherent sentences is great especially in poetry where the poet disturbs the order or consistency of words for the sake of rythm and rhyme.

ANACOLUTHON. An anacoluthic sentence is a sentence begun in one way and finished in another not syntactically accordant. It is comparatively common in spoken Hindi, where anaptaxis plays an important part, and also in complex sentences. Such sentences though grammatically incorrect, do not fail to convey the intended meaning. Examples—

khayál rahe ki tum jo áge áge cal rahe ho dhyán mat lagáo, Mind that you who are going ahead don't run.

vah manuṣya jo yah páp kar'tá hai, álse manuṣya ko narak parápta hotá hai, He who commits sin, such a man is doomed to hell.

jo shabda ve bol'te haiṅ, ve un'ká artha nahíṅ samajh'te, The words that they utter, they do not understand the meaning thereof.

SEQUENCE OF TENSES. Sometimes a sentence is anacoluthic only in appearance, especially to a foreigner, but it is quite consistent in the logic of the Indian mind. Although a grammarian like Bábú Rámacandra Varmá would insist ("Acchí Hindí", Benares. p. 67) that clauses must observe sequence of tense, colloquial Hindi, as well as Bengali and Punjabi, have no regular sequence of tenses. Compare—

jo log maráṭhoṅ ká itihás ján'te hāiṅ unheṅ yah bhí málúm hogá ki shivá jí kaun the, Those who *know* the history of the Marathas, *will* be knowing who Shiváji *was*.

shíshe ke ek bare kaṭore se mom'batti ko ḍhánk do, thoṛí der ke bád dekhoge ki batti bujh gaí, *Cover* the candle with a glass cylinder. After a short time you *will see* that the candle *was* extinguished.

maiṅ ne socá ki vah á gayá hai, I thought that he *has* come.

The semantic implication of such a sentence is clear. It describes the mood, the very import, of the sequent clause in its original; and, therefore, the impression on the hearer is direct and effective. Compare—

H. **maiṅ ne púchá ki tum kaun ho,** and Eng. I asked him who he was. **rám ne mohan ko batá diyá ki tum fel ho** (Lit. Ráma told Mohan that you fail) and Eng. "Ráma told Mohan that he had failed".

The sequence of tense also involves the use of changed pronouns in the indirect form in English. The forms in Indian vernaculars, on the other hand, present a less amount of ambiguity.

2. iv. Statements, Wishes, Questions, Exclamations.

The meanings of these forms of sentences are varied.

STATEMENTS. A statement may contain a universal truth, as—

do aur do cár hote haiṅ, two and two make four, **par'meshvar sarvavyápak hai,** God is omnipresent.

It may give information, as in—

durgandha ke máre vahán baiṭhá [nahíṅ játá, It is not possible to sit there on account of bad smell.

It may contain an advice in general, as e.g.

vidván ko sadá dharma kí cintá kar'ní cáhiye, A learned man should always think about righteousness.

mitra vah hāi jo sukh dukh meń sáth de, A friend in need is a friend indeed.

It may give a reminder or warning, as—

kal tak sab mál pahuńc jáná cáhiye, all goods must reach by tomorrow.

It, generally, defines or describes a thing, as—

kuttá bhaunk'tá huá bhágá, the dog ran barking.

The statement, it will be noted, is an even and unemotional form of speech. As such it may show greater politeness and less passion in expressing a request, advice, wish or command. Examples—

mālá ne kahá thá kháná khá lijiye, I had said that you might take your meals. **hamáre vicár meń cale jáná hí acchá hāi,** In my opinion it is better to go away. **ham cáh'te hālá ki vah á jáye,** We wish him to come.

Prayers, curses, commands, wishes and questions, expressed in this form, are indirect. More examples—

mālá prárthaná kar'tá húń ki vah svastha rahe, I pray that he may remain healthy. **ham ájńiyá dete hālá ki vah baiṭhá rahe,** We order that he may remain sitting. **ham púch'te hālá ki vah kaun hāi,** We ask who he is.

Not only the intonation in such sentences is even, but the semantic appeal is also weak.

WISHES. Wish has a variety of shades. It may be—

(a) a command, as **jáo já kar so raho,** Go and sleep. **yah kám kar'ke áná,** Come after doing this work.

(b) an advice, as **dínoń ko mat satáo,** Do not oppress the poor. **tum burí báteń choṛ do,** You give up evil habits.

(c) a request, as **jará baiṭhiyegá,** Please do sit down. **áo to,** just come in.

(d) a warning, as **rah jáo,** Leave it alone. **dekho, dekho,** Mind.

(e) a curse or a blessing, as **cal terá satyánáśh,** Get away and be damned, **par'mátmá tumheń sukhí rakhe,** May god bless you.

(f) a prayer, as **ham bal'ván hoń,** May we be strong? **he bálak tum vír bano,** O child, may you be brave.

(g) a hope, as **áye aur kám bane,** He may come and the work be done. **sháyad vah kar le,** Perhaps he may do it.

(h) permission or resolve, as **maiń calúń,** May I go, or I may go.

(i) condition, as **maiń cal'tá,** had I gone.

Grammarians, sometimes, distinguish optative sentences from imperative ones. Semantically, however, an imperative sentence also expresses the wish of the speaker though in a strong and authoritative form.

QUESTIONS. Interrogation is a form of speech by which we, generally, express our desire for enlightenment. Questions may imply that the speaker is in ignorance and wants to know a fact, as **tum kaun ho?** (Who are you?), **kaháń já rahe ho?** (Where are you going?), **aur kab tak lauṭoge?** (and, when will you return?). These questions demand a more or less detailed information.

There are questions which ask whether a general supposition or proposition is true or false, as **kyá tum samajh gaye?** (Do you understand?), **iláhábád já rahe ho?** (Are you going to Allahabad?) **vah á gayá hai yá nahíń?** (Has he come or not?). They demand a 'yes', or 'no' in reply. Some questions demand confirmation only, as **yah ṭhík hai ná?** (Isn't it right?), **yah ṭhík nahíń hai kyá?** (Is it not really true?), **tumheń bhí kyá gar'mí lag rahí hai?** (Do you also feel hot?). Such questions are called disjunctive questions.

They also challenge or refute of a statement, as—

kyá maiń koí cor húń? (Am I a thief).

Commentative types of disjunctive questions suggest that a statement has already been made by the first speaker.

acchá ve yaháń haiń? (O, Is he here?).

Lastly a question may contain two alternatives of which one will constitute a reply—

tum yah cával áp kháoge yá máń ko khiláoge? (Will you take this rice yourself or give it to your mother?).

maiń jáúń yá baiṭhá rahúń? (May I go or remain sitting?).

So far we have seen how interrogative forms have various types of questions to ask. Questions may also be used to mean simply a statement, as **áp mere pás kab kab áte haiń** (How often do you come to me?) = You seldom come. **aur kyá?** (What else?) and **kyoń nahíń?** (Why not?) mean "yes".

Sometimes interrogative sentences are tantamount to emphatic

statements, as **mā̄ṅ us se prem kyoṅ na karúṅ?** (Why should I not love her?).

A Question may mean the opposite affirmation, as—

kāūn rám sá putra hogá, (what son can be like Ráma?), i.e. no one.

kyá áp na the? (Were you not there?), i.e. you were.

A Question may also express (1) surprise or incredulity, as—

tumháre pitá ká svargavás ho gayá? (Is your father dead?).

kyá āīsá hí likhá thá, (Was it doomed like that?).

(2) determination or despair as **háy mā̄ṅ kaháṅ jáúṅ?** (O, where may I go now?), **áp hí kaheṅ, kyá karúṅ?** (You yourself may say: What should I do?).

(3) deliberation, as **mā̄ṅ tum se kṣamá máṅgúṅ?** (May I apologize?).

Sometimes questions may be expressed in a form other than interrogation. But in such cases intonation will clearly indicate that they are questions. In fact, any statement can be employed to mean a question by giving it an interrogative pitch.

EXCLAMATIONS. Exclamatory sentences denote intellectual and emotional excitement, as **áhá! kit'ní acchí havá cal rahí hā̄ī,** Aha! What a pleasant breeze! **háy mā̄ṅ mará,** Ha, I am dead!

Such expressions may also express a wish, as **yadi mā̄ṅ yah bát ján'tá,** Had I known it!

They may express indignant repudiation of an idea, as **mā̄ṅ! I, mā̄ṅ cor!** I, a thief!

Sometimes an exclamation is expressed in the form of a question, as we have noted above.

2. v. Affirmative and Negative Sentences.

Statements, questions, wishes, exclamations, elliptical sentences, tautological sentences and all other types of sentences may have an affirmative or a negative meaning.

AFFIRMATION. Affirmation in positive sentences may be (a) weak, (b) strong, or (c) emphatic.

(a) Affirmation is weak in general statements and unemotional

utterances, as in **humáyún bábar ká beṭá thá, vah 1530 meṅ dillí ká bád'sháh baná,** (Humáyun was the son of Babur. He ascended the throne of Delhi in 1530), **cal ap'ná kám kar,** (Go and do your work).

(b) The same expressions become strong if they are uttered with a special emotional effect or pitch which suggests the meaning.

cal haṭ ap'ná kám kar, Get away and do your work, as a weak affirmation, suggests that the speaker simply means to avoid another person who disturbs him. The same, as a strong affirmation, would mean admonition or order. **rástá choṛ do,** leave the way, as a simple utterance, might mean a request or a wish, but as a strong affirmation it involves command or derision or contempt of authority.

(c) Affirmation is emphatic when uttered with a stress or intonation giving a particular force to important word or words.

rástá choṛo, *Leave* the way, or rástá **choṛo,** Leave the *way*.

Emphasis may be effected by inverting the usual order of words. Compare—

hāĩ koĩ yahāṅ par sádhu, Is there here any Sádhu ?

bhojan kar leṅ áp, Meals may you take.

Also see the following section on "Order of Words".

NEGATION. Negation may be applied to words, as in **an'paṛh,** illiterate, **ajáṅ,** uninitiated, **bekáy'dá,** irregular, **nádáṅ,** injudicious, **nissandeh,** doubtlessly, **práṇ'rahit,** lifeless, **arthashúnya,** meaningless, **guṇ'hĩn,** without a quality, etc.

Negative words of independent character may also be applied to negative a word, as **na** and **nahĩṅ** in **us meṅ ján nahĩṅ rahĩ** (there is no life left in him), **na acchá hāĩ na burá** (neither good nor bad), **gāĩr-sar'kárĩ,** unofficial.

It is to be noted that it is usually the negation of the verb which negatives the whole utterance. This again explains the importance of the verb to the whole sentence. Examples—

ãisá mat kaho, Do not say so, **vah kám kyoṅ nahĩṅ kar'tá,** Why does he not work ? **yah sac nahĩṅ hāĩ,** It is not true, **kyá vah nahĩṅ hāĩ ?** Isn't he there ? **maĩṅ vahāṅ kabhĩ na jáúṅgá,** I shall never go there. **pustak kahĩṅ nahĩṅ mil'tĩ,** The book is nowhere to be obtained.

Sometimes, word negation is used to mean sentence negation,

as in—**na koí já sak'tá hāĩ** ....., *Neither* any one can go ..., or **us meń ján nahíń rahí** above.

If, however, any particular word preceding the negative word is emphasized, it is this word which gets the negatived idea, although the same is also shared by the verb, as in—

kyá vah **nahíń hāĩ** ? Is *he* not there ?

rám **roṭí nahíń khátá,** *Rama* does not eat bread.

or **rám** roṭí **nahíń khátá,** Ráma does not eat *bread.*

It has been remarked that a sentence negative in form may be affirmative in meaning or *vice versa*, as—

kyoń nahíń ?, why not = yes.

yah ṭhík nahíń hāĩ kyá ? Isn't it right = It is right.

áp mere pás kab kab áte hāĩń, i.e. you seldom or never come to me.

karo to jáneń, i.e. you cannot do.

On the other hand, negation may be expressed indirectly, as in the questions: **kyá maĩń tumhárá nmkar húń ?,** am I your servant ? **kmn hāĩ jo ise cheṛe ?** Who is it (is there any one) that can tease him ? **maĩń kaĩse já sak'tá húń ?** How can I go ?

There are idiomatic expressions in affirmative which suggest a semi-negative meaning, as—

tum khák paṛhe ho. Lit. You have read *dust.*

paríkṣá meń ap'ná sir karoge ?, Lit. Will you achieve your *head* in the examination ?

Note how positive and negative expressions give identical meaning in **abhí maĩń pahuńcá hí thá ki** ..... I had hardly reached there when ..... and **abhí maĩń pahuńc'ne na páyá thá ki** ..... I had not reached there when .....

Although double negatives constitute an affirmation, semantically there is a vast difference. Compare—

vah an'paṛh nahíń hāĩ, he is not illiterate, is not exactly **vah paṛhá huá hāĩ,** he is literate. The one strongly refutes a charge, the other is a weak statement. Sentences like **maĩń nahíń ján'tá ki vah kyoń nahíń átá** (I do not know why he does not come) can never give the intended meaning in an affirmative construction.

In complex sentences, the negation of the principal or the subordinate clause makes a great difference in meaning. Compare—

merá vicár nahíń ki vah áyegá, I don't think he'll come, and **merá vicár hāĩ ki vah nahíń áyegá,** I think he'll not come.

3. ORDER OF WORDS.

(i) Semantic Implications.

(ii) Grammatical Order — The Verb — The Noun and the Adjective — The Adverb — **na, hí, bhí** and **to** — Fixed Place for certain Parts of Speech — Various Cases — The Subordinate clauses.

Every word has syntactical possibilities and limitations. A word is unthinkable except as somehow ordered in the system of speech. It is a very large subject, its beginnings are in Grammar, and its full development in Rhetorics. Grammar fixes a certain order and style disturbs that order for the sake of semantic propriety or clear understanding. This is important in an analytical language like Hindi. Of course, every language determines its order according to the way of national thinking. Any breach against the usual order tends to unsettle the stability of both quality and meaning, and to increase the emotional intensity.

3. i. Semantic Implications.

The normal order of the parts of a simple sentence in Hindi is (1) subject (2) predicate, (3) copula, or (1) subject, (2) object, and (3) verb. But words in this order have an ordinary steady-going meaning as in unemotional and even type of prose. The inversion of this order suggests a particular meaning. It may be noted that Indian languages present more varieties of syntactical meanings by this means than English. It is extremely difficult to translate into English the following sentences, for example, in which the changed position of words effects important semantic differences. Compare **kiṉn karegá** and **karegá kiṉ?** The first enquires about the person who would do that work. The other sentence suggests that it is not an easy job to do, the stress falling on **karegá** (the doing) on account of its altered place.

Take **ek rájá thá** and **ek thá rájá** and **thá ek rájá.** The first is an ordinary, unemotional, even type of statement as in a narrative and means simply: "There was a king". The second sentence calls special attention to the word "**rájá**" and the third suggests confirmation of a previous statement which has been questioned. The

changed position of the verb is significant. It emphasizes the past existence of the king, who is not living now.

jaldí calo and **calo jaldí.** The first suggests that a person is walking but not quite fast, and is wanted to accelerate his speed. The second implies that the man is, perhaps, stationary. He is required to move and move quickly. The word **jaldí,** at once, receives greater emphasis in the first sentence.

us'ne rám ko ghaṛí dí, rám ko us'ne ghaṛí dí, and **ghaṛí us'ne rám ko dí.** The first is a normal statement that he gave Ráma a watch (nothing else). The changed position of '**rám ko**' in the second sentence, implies that he gave to Ráma a watch and to others something else, or that he gave the watch to Ráma and not to anybody else. The third sentence brings **ghaṛí** into prominence and replies an enquiry about the watch which, it is said, has been given to Ráma.

It may be noted that the most important words are placed either in the beginning or at the end of a sentence. That is why in ordinary talk the subject occupies the first position and the verb ends a sentence.

3. ii. Grammatical Order.

THE VERB. The final position of the verb in Hindi sentences, including statements, questions, wishes, exclamations, is fully accounted for by the verb's importance to the whole, all the various preceding parts, the subject and their adjuncts, being either directly dependent upon, or else indirectly associated with it. Compare the position of verb in Hindi and English sentences—

us'ne yah makán ban'váyá thá, but Eng. "He *had* built this house."

kyá yah makán us'ne ban'váyá thá?, but Eng. "*Did* he build this house?"

us'ne kyá ban'váyá? Eng. "What *did* he *build*?"

kyá vah laṅg'ṛá hai! Eng. "*Is* he lame!"

jaldí ghar jáo, Eng. "*Go* home at once."

Not to speak of the effects of euphony, the verb, however, is dispossessed of its terminal position by individual words demanding special attention.

jo uṭhāyegā ise vah shatru hogā merā, (he who will take up *this*, will be an enemy of *mine*).

mere hāth men hāī ek pustak, (In my hand is a *book*).

Sometimes it is shifted from its normal position and given special emphasis by antithetical requirements. **detā kyoṅ nahīṅ,** (Gives why not he) suggests protest or determination on the part of the speaker to make the third person yield. **khā to lūṅ miṭhāī par ḍāktar kā ḍar hāī,** (Eat I may sweets, but I am afraid of the doctor) suggests that there are special instructions about "eating".

The copula receives the greatest emphasis when placed in the beginning of a sentence, as **hāī to sahī,** (It) is there, of course.

This is particularly done to heighten the effect of a following adversative idea, as **hāī to garīb par baṛā buddhimān hāī.** In English we will say "Poor he is, but he is wise."

THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE. An adjective or an adjective-equivalent is a means of restricting the meaning of the noun, and, therefore, naturally stands first in the new compound phrase. Were it not so preceded, the noun would retain its ordinary sense. That explains the position of an adjective used attributively and of one used predicatively. Compare **acche ād'mī hāīṅ,** they are good men, and **ād'mī acche hāīṅ,** men are good.

The compound term **acchā ād'mī,** a good man, **pāpī manuṣya,** a sinful person, **kālā ghoṛā,** a black horse, **khoṭī cāl,** a wicked move, is considered as one idea referring to the noun. It is the compounded idea which can be expressed even by one of the compounds, as **cāl,** move, = **khoṭī cāl,** wicked move, **baṛe,** big, = **baṛe ād'mī,** big people. The inversion of order separates from the noun its quality which is made prominent by antithesis. Compare—

vah nīc puruṣ hāī, he is a mean fellow, *and* **vah puruṣ nīc hāī,** that fellow is mean.

yah merā ghar hāī, this house is my house, *and* **yah ghar merā hāī,** this house is mine.

sote hue laṛ'ke ne lāt mārī, The sleeping boy kicked, *and* **laṛ'ke ne sote huye lāt mārī,** the boy kicked in sleep.

We have already remarked that the predicative use of an adjective makes it adverbial. In fact any change in the normal position of the adjective makes it more prominent than the noun itself. Compare—

kal'yug meṅ rájá up'je hālá abhimánī (In Kaliyuga are kings born haughty), **kuttá hāī yah dhobī ká** (Dog it is the washerman's).

Sometimes the adjective may retain its dependent position but the noun may be separated from it and given a more emphatic meaning, as **rám'ká putra thá vah bhí** suggests that like the worthy son of a worthy father he was also Ráma's duteous son; but **putra thá rám'ká vah bhí** means that he was not an ordinary man's son, the prominence being given to 'Ráma' in this sentence.

When there are more than one qualificatives, their position in relation to the noun varies with the difference in meaning intended. Compare—

do pah'le laṛ'ke (the two first boys), *and* **pah'le do laṛ'ke,** (the first two boys).

acchī kinārī kī dhotī, (a Dhotī with a good border), *and* **kinārī kī acchī dhotī,** (a good Dhotī with a border).

pánī ká ek loṭá (a jug of water), *and* **ek pánī ká loṭá** (Jug of some water or any drink).

THE ADVERB. Like adjectives, adverbs, most normally, precede the qualified. In the English sentence, 'he ran fast', the hearer's mind conjures up some picture of a person running, which must be corrected by the next word. In Hindi expressions, the mental action is one. It is anamolous for English to recognise this principle in the case of adjectives but not to observe it tenaciously in adverbs. Compare—

H. **vah tez dauṛ'tá hāī,** and Eng. "He runs fast."

H. **vah acchá laṛ'ká nahīṅ hāī,** and Eng. "He is not a good boy."

It is psychologically very important having a qualificative restriction *before* the general term.

The adverb is removed from its usual order when it is intended to be made rather independent and emphatic. Compare **tum jákar pách lo** and **tum pách lo jákar.** The first sentence has emphasis on **pách lo** (ask), **jákar** (by approaching) serving only to qualify and restrict the method of asking. The second makes **jákar** prominent and suggests that 'approaching' would be necessary.

Take **áp ne yah khabar jarúr sunī hogī** and **jarúr áp'ne yah khabar sunī hogī.** The first is a mere statement. The speaker is

more definite in the second about his having heard the news, **jarúr** in the beginning of a sentence suggesting emphasis and certainty.

Compare also **tum kab áoge?** and **tum áoge kab?** The first sentence asks about the time of your coming. The second implies that you are, perhaps, not coming at all, and the speaker is particular primarily about your coming and secondarily about the time.

Sometimes the adverb retains its position while the verb is displaced for the sake of its own effect, or some word or words from other positions may intervene and change meaning. Compare—

(a) **rám ne bálí ko chip'kar már ḍálá,**
(b) **rám ne chip'kar bálí ko már ḍálá,**
(c) **már ḍálá rám ne chip'kar bálí ko,**
(d) **bálí ko chip'kar rám ne már ḍálá.**

The first is an ordinary statement—Ráma killed Bálí hidingly. The second may emphasize **chip'kar** (hiding) or **bálí.** The third lays stress on his *killing* Bálí. It arouses sensation over the act of killing. The fourth sentence brings Bálí into prominence.

The adverb also attains its prominence by taking the first position in a sentence, although it may still be followed by the verb, as **ánandapúrvak rah'tá thá vah,** delightedly did he live, **kahán ho tum,** suggests that the speaker is extremely keen about the place where you are.

Note how the position of the adverb affects the meaning of the sentences—**ab maĩń kyá karúń** and **maĩń ab kyá karúń?** The first sentence emphasizes the word "now" and suggests that so far it was all right but now the speaker does not know what to do. The second sentence shows that the speaker is worried about himself, other people having known what they should do.

na-hí-bhí-to. The adverbs **na** and **nahíń** (not) and **hí** (even), **bhí** (also, too) and **to** (of course) can qualify compound verbs in two ways. They may precede the compound or may intervene between its parts and thus effect important semantic variations. Compare **maĩń nahíń já sak'tá** and **maĩń já nahíń sak'tá.** The first emphasizes the adverb **nahíń,** the second lays stress on the verb and suggests that "I can do any other thing, but I am unable to go." **vah na uṭh saká** and **vah uṭh na saká.** The first is a simple statement. The second makes **uṭh'ná,** to lift, prominent, and suggests that he could move it but not lift it up. **vah bhí á gayá** and **vah á**

bhí gayá. The one suggests that among others "he also had come". The other means that he had done some other action, say of going to some place, and had then come. **patra ág meń hí pheńk diyá** and **patra ág meń pheńk hí diyá** The first implies that the letter was thrown into the fire and nowhere else. The second suggests that it was not expected but he did throw it into the fire. **kám to kar cuká** and **kám kar to cuká.** The one lays stress on the work which was finished and the other on the finishing itself of the work.

bhí, to and **hí** as enclitics emphasize the words which they follow. Their position greatly affects the syntactical meaning. Compare **merá bhí ek beṭá paṛh'tá thá, merá ek beṭá bhí paṛh'tá thá, merá ek beṭá paṛh'tá bhí thá.** The first suggests that sons of many persons were studying and mine was one of them. The second implies that my son, besides my daughter or daughters, was studying. The third means that the son was doing some other job also besides studying. Also compare—

maĩń to áp'kí ájáiyá biná nahíń játá suggests that others may go without your permission, but I don't.

maĩń áp'kí to ájáiyá biná nahíń játá suggests that I may go without anybody else's permission, but I must take yours before going.

maĩń áp'kí ájáiyá biná to nahíń játá, I may go but not without your permission.

maĩń áp'kí ájáiyá biná jatá to nahíń implies that I may be playing about here but I am not going away without your permission.

maĩń hí yah kám nahíń kar'ná cáh'tá suggests that there are none others, I alone do not want to do this work.

maĩń yah hí kám nahíń kar'ná cáh'tá, I like any other work but not this one.

maĩń yah kám hí nahíń kar'ná cáh'tá suggests that I am fed up with the work itself which I don't like.

maĩń yah kám kar'ná hí nahíń cáh'tá lays great stress on 'not doing' the work.

FIXED PLACE FOR CERTAIN PARTS OF SPEECH. This discussion may suggest that there is no fixed order of words in Hindi. But postpositions and conjunctions have their fixed place, and any change of order would prove disastrous and make meaningless sentences.

Similarly the adverb qualifying the adjective is syntactically considered as an attribute of an adjective and it must precede it.

bahut acchá laṛ'ká hāĩ, he is a very good boy, may be **laṛ'ká bahut acchá hāĩ,** the boy is good, but not **acchá laṛ'ká bahut hāĩ,** or **acchá bahut laṛ'ká hāĩ.**

VARIOUS CASES. Some simple sentences may have two objects or two or more adverbials. As a rule, the primary (indirect) object (in dative) immediately precedes the secondary (or direct) object (in accusative), as in **rájá ne daridroṅ ko vastra diye,** but Eng. "The king gave clothes to the poor", though the construction: "I gave him a book" is also prevalent.

The order, however, can be changed for emphasis, as **daridroṅ ko rájá ne vastra diye,** to the poor the king gave clothes, or **rájá ne vastra daridroṅ ko diye,** for which an Englishman might say "The king gave clothes to the poor." The Semantic difference in the sentences above is clear.

There is no fixed order for the adverbial-nouns with postpositions denoting instrumental, ablative and locative. In smooth and ordinary speech we use, first locative, then ablative and then instrumental. When there are many words in locative, those denoting time come first. Examples—

rát ko cmdh'rí ne jaggú ko chure se már ḍálá, (At night the Chaudhri killed Jaggú with a dagger).

ap'ní strí se kallú ne yah bát kapaṭ se man'vá lí, (From his wife Kallú got the confession by fraud).

din meṅ kaí bár ákásh meṅ dhúli sí díkhái detí hāĩ, (Many times in the day something like dust is seen in the sky).

We may, however, place these adverbials at any place for emphasis and prominence and for change of meaning, as in **ákásh meṅ kaí bár din meṅ dhúli sí díkh paṛ'tí hāĩ,** it is suggested that the phenomenon is observable *in the sky,* while in the original construction above the attention is particularly drawn to the fact that the phenomenon occurs *several times in the day.*

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. As regards the compound sentences, the general rule is that the principal clause should precede the qualifying or subordinate clause. But it is again a question of emphasis. If the emphasis is intended on the principal clause, it

comes first.

us'ne páchá ki tum kahán se áye ho, He asked: where do you come from?

ham ne to yah tab sam'jhá jab áp log na á sake, We knew it only then when you could not come.

If, on the other hand, the subordinate clause is made more prominent than the principal, it precedes the latter. In a sense, the subordinate clause is given a principal position, at least semantically.

jo corí karegá vah daṇḍa pávegá, (Who steals, he will be punished).

yadi áp cáheń to maĩń jáúń? (If you wish, I may go).

4. INTONATION AS A MEANS OF SYNTACTIC CHANGE.

4. Intonation as a means of Syntactic Change.

It has been noted under certain sections of discussion above that, intonation, which includes length, tone and stress, also plays an important part in conveying a desired variety of meanings. Intonation as a factor of syntactical meaning varies with variation in the word-order or in the form or mood of the sentence. Note the change in intonation with the change in the position of

(a) the subject, in **áp bhojan kar leń** and **bhojan kar leń áp.**

(b) the verb, in **kũn karegá** and **karegá kũn.**

(c) the copula, in **vah haĩ** and **haĩ to sahí.**

(d) the adjective, in **acche ád'mí haĩń** and **ádmí acche haĩń**

X

or **do pah'le laṛ'ke** and **pah'le do laṛ'ke.**

(e) the adverbs, in **vah hāī hí nahíń** and **vah hí nahíń hāī.**

maiń bhí khá baiṭhá and **maiń khá bhí bhaiṭhá.**

The intonation of sentences containing command, request, question or exclamation is quite different. Compare—

Statement—**áj gar'mí hāī** Question—**áj gar'mí hāī ?**

Exclamation—**áj gar'mí hāī !** Request—**áiye.**

Admonition—**ullú ká paṭṭhá.** Curse—**hat terá satyánás.**

Etc., etc.

Hindi has no tone of any semantic importance. It is the pitch which suggests moods and meanings. The pitch varies with varied senses of question, request, command, advice, warning, surprise, protest, admiration, astonishment, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, confirmation, contempt or any other mood. In fact any form of sentence may be so pitched as to convey the desired effect.

Pitched syllables or words are generally accompanied by stress-accent and length in Hindi. **tum kyá samajh'te ho,** what do you understand, may have stress on **tum,** or **kyá,** or **samajh'te.** The same syllable would be lengthened and receive musical pitch as well. Sometimes **háń, náń, hāīń, kyá,** etc. are affixed at the end of a sentence and pitched according to the sense to be conveyed.

For a more detailed treatment of intonation as a semantic factor, Hindi has yet to wait, for the findings of phoneticians who have not cared to supply any data on which any detailed principles could be evolved.

APPENDIX

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INDEX OF WORDS & ILLUSTRATIONS

INDEX OF MATTERS

APPENDIX

A list of Synonyms from Arabic-Persian and Indo-Aryan parallelly existing in Hindi (vide page 128)

'adávat	bā̃r	bar'dáshta	sahan (kar'ná)
af'sar	adhikárí	b'ád	píche
agar	yadi	bád'sháh	mahárájá
'ajíb	vicitra	bág	bárí
aqh'bár	samácár-patra	bárish	varṣá, menh
'aqla	buddhi	báshindá	nivásí
'alává	atirikta	bā̃	becí
amír	dhaní	be-adab	ashiṣta
áb'páshí	siñcáí	beshak	nissandeh
áb'rú	mán	betáb	vyákul
áfat	vipatti	bímár	rogí
'ám	sádháraṇ	bímárí	rog
ásmán	ákásh	buqhár	táp
ástín	báṅh	buz'dil	ḍar'pok, káyar
'ā̃b	doṣ		
'ā̃sh	bhog-vilás	cañd	kuch
ām̃qát	sámarthya	cákar	sevak
'ām̃rat	strí, joru	cíz	vastu
ām̃zár	hathiyár, rách		
		dafá	bár
badan	tan	daftar	káryálay
bad'hazmí	ajírṇa	dagá	chal
badí	burá	dalál	bic'vaí
bad'námí	nindá	dalíl	tarka
bagā̃r	biná	dam	sváṅs
bahádur	shúr'vír	daṅgá	jhag'ṛá
bahár	vasanta rtu	dar'bár	(ráj) sabhá
bal'gam	kaph	darda	píṛá
bandobasta	prabandha	dar'já	pad
banisbat	apekṣá	dastaqhat	hastákṣar
barábar	samán	davá	ām̃ṣadh (oṣad)
bar'bád	naṣṭa	daváqháná	ām̃ṣadhálay

dákhil	praviṣṭa, pāiṭhá huá	garíb	daridra, nirdhan
dám	mol	garúr	ghamaṇḍa
dāulat	dhan	gaváh	sákṣi, sákhí
dāurá	pherá	gotá	ḍub'kí
dil	man, hrday	gulám	dás
dillagí	ṭhaṭholí	gussá	krodh
dimág	mastiṣka, bhejá	gustákh	ashiṣṭa
dívánā	págal		
dosta	mitra	had, hadda	símá
dukán	háṭ	hal	nip'ṭárá
dum	púńch	hameshá	sadá
duniyá	jagat, sańsár	ham'lá	ákraman, caṛhái
durusta	ṭhík	haq'dár	adhikárí
dushman	shatru	haraj, harja	bádhá, akáj
		havá	váyu
e't'ráz	ápatti	hāus'lá	sáhas
e'vaz (meń)	bad'le (meń)	himmat	sáhas
		hisáb	lekhá
fan	kalá	hissá	bhág
faqír	sádhu	hoshiyár	catur
farqa	antar	hujjat	tarka
fareb	chal		
fariyád	prárthaná	ikhtiyár	vash, adhikár
fasád	jhag'ṛá	il'zám	abhiyog
fasla	upaj, samay	ishárá	saīn
fatur	vikár	istaduá	bin'tí
fazul	vyartha, nirarthak	ińtizám	prabandha
fáqá	up'vás, chuṭṭí	ińtizár	
fáy'dá	lábh	(kar'ná)	parakh(ná)
fāis'lá	nirṇay	ittifáq	sańyog
fikra	cintá	'izzat	pratiṣṭhá, ádar
		ímán	sacáí
gadar	upadrav		
galat	ashuddha	jagah	sthal
gam	dukh	jaldí	shíghra
gańdá	māilá	javáb	uttar
garam	tátá	jáhil	ujaḍḍa
garaz	prayojan	ján	práṇ
gar'dá	dhúl	ján'var	pashu

járí	cálu
judá	alag
jurma	ap'rádh
kam	thoṛá
kamí	ghaṭí
kamíná	ochá
kamar'bańd	nálá
kam zyádá	thoṛá bahut
káfúr	kapúr
káhil	ál'sí
kám'yáb	saphal
kár	kám
káshta	kheṭí
kinárá	chor
kiráyá	bháṛá
kitáb	pothí
kulí	moṭiyá
lashkar	sená
lál	rakta
lásh	shav
liház	sańkoc
madad	saháy'tá
madarisá	páṭh'shálá
magar	kintu
mah'súl	kar
maj'búr	vivash
makán	ghar
mańzúr	svíkrt
mash'húr	prasiddha
mas'lan	yathá
mat'lab	prayojan
mazá	ánanda
mazáq	hańsí, ṭhaṭṭhá
máfí	kṣamá
máh	más
mál'guzárí	lagán

málik	svámí
má'múlí	sádháraṇ
mátam	shok
mauqá'	samay
me'dá	ámáshay
meh'mán	atithi
mínár	láṭh
mírás	bapautí
miy'ád	avadhi
mudarris	shikṣak
muddat	avadhi, kál
muhar	ṭhappá
muj'rái	kaṭautí
muláyam	komal
mulka	desh
mul'zim	abhiyukta
munádí	ḍhiṅḍhorá
muqábilá	virodh
musáfir	yátrí, pathik
nabza	náṛí
naf'á	lábh
naqda	rokaṛ
namak	lon, non
namí	árdratá
naqla	pratilipi
naqh'rá	háv-bháv
naq'lí	jálí
naram, narma	komal
nashá	mad
nasla	vańsh
natíjá	phal
nazákat	sukumár'tá
námarda	napuńsak
náqhún	nakh
násamajh	nirbuddhi
názuk	sukumár
naujaván	nav'yuvak

nāmkar	ṭahaluá
nek	bhalá
nigáh	cit'van
nihál	sukhí
nihárí	jal'pán
nishán	cinha
niválá	grás, kaur
níyat	icchá
numáish	pradarshiní
nuq'sán	háni
'oh'dá	pad
pahal'ván	malla
pareshán	ghab'ráyá
par'hez	bacáv
pákháná	ṭaṭṭí
paidá	utpanna
paidávár	upaj
pec	ghumáv
peshá	vyav'sáy
pesháb	mút (mútra)
pesh'gí	agáú
pesh'vái	ag'váni
pushta	piṛhí
qad	ḍíl
qadam	ḍag
qahar	ápatti
qalam	lekh'ní
qarár	ṭhah'ráv
qaríb	nikaṭ
qaríb qaríb	lag'bhag
qatla	hatyá
qatár	paṅkti
qat'rá	búnd
qasúr	ap'rádh
qábil	yogya
qábú	vash
qaid	bandhan, kárávás
qaidí	bandí
qhabar	samácár
qhabta	págal'pan
qhazán'cí	rok'ṛí
qharca	vyay
qhar'gosh	shashá
qhatma	púrá
qhális	shuddha
qhálí	rítá
qhán'dán	gharáná
qhátir	satkár
qhid'mat	sevá
qhiláf	viruddha
qhitáb	pad'ví
qhud	áp, svayam
qhush	magan, prasanna
qhushámad	cáp'lúsí
qhush'bú	sugaṅdhi
qhún	lahú
rañj	khed
rasíd	pahuńc
raván'gí	prasthán, cálán
ráh'zaní	ḍáká
rástá	márga, path
registán	marusthal
rihá	mukta
rishtedár	sambandhí, nátu
rosh'ní	prakásh
roz	din
rozí	jívikú
sabza	hará
safed	gorá, ciṭṭá, uj'lá
saláh	parámarsha, sammati
saqhta	kaṭhor, kará
savál	prashna

sazá	dańḍ	umdá	baṛhiyá
sáf	nirmal, shuddha	ummíd	ásha
sáyá	cháyá	ustád	gurú, ácárya
sáilab	báṛh		
sharam	lajjá, láj	vajah	káraṇ
sharíf	bhalá	vazífá	vrtti, chátravrtti
shádí	viváh, byáh	vazír	mańtrí
shaṁq	cáv	vádá	pratijńiyá
sheqhí	ahańkár	vápas	lauṭá
shikár	aher	vár'dát	ghaṭ'ná
shub'há	sandeh	vástá	lagáv
shukra	dhanyavád	váste	lie
shurú	árambha	viláyat	videsh
susti	álasya	vírán	ujáṛ
súrat	rúp		
		yatím	anáth
tab'dílí	parivartan	yá	vá, ath'vá
tah	parat	yání	arthát
tak'líf	kaṣṭa	yár	mitra
talásh	khoj	yárí	mitratá
tar	gílá		
taraf	or	zubán	jıbh
tarah	bháńti	zabradastí	atyácár
taraqqí	unnati	zahar	viṣ
tarázú	tulá, tak'rí	zakham	gháv
tariqá	ḍhańg	zamáná	samay
tar'kíb	ḍhańg	zamín	bhúmi, dhar'tí
tar'tíb	kram	zarda	pílá
tasallí	santoṣ	zarúrat	ávashyak'tá
tash'ríf	padhár'ná	záí'a	naṣṭa
tas'vír	citra	zidda	haṭh
táíd	anumodan	zor	bal, shakti
tákíd	anurodh	zulma	atyácár
t'áríf	prashańsá, lakṣaṇ	zyádá	adhik, bahut
umar, umra	áyu, avasthá		

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PREFACE

1. Semantics.
2. Importance of Semantics.
3. The Scope of the Present Study.
4. Acknowledgments.

1. Semantics.

"Semantikos" is a Greek word derived from "sema" (sign) going back to the Indo-European dhiei (to see), which is paralleled by OIA dhyánam (introspection) and the reduplicated form in Persian "dídan" (to see). A "sign" in the sense implies something which attracts the eye. In language it has come to mean a word, which is the symbol of expression, the symbol denoting an object. In this connection also compare the word 'varṇa'—which originally means 'colour', a sign, and then a sound or a letter. Semantics as a branch of linguistics deals with the word as a symbol, with its symbolic values or meanings. The nature of linguistic meanings, the historical mutations of meaning, problems of translation, or of the conveyance of meaning from one linguistic medium to another, all these are problems of Semantics.* In the "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology" of Baldwin, Semantics is defined as "the doctrine of historical word meanings, the systematic discussion of the history and development of changes in the meanings of words". The definition is defective in so far as it restricts the science only to its historical branch.

According to Oertal, semantic problems include: "By what means has a given language in each individual case expressed its thoughts? How many meanings is the same form capable of expressing? In how many different forms can the same thought be expressed?" †

Semantics may be classified under two main heads: (1) Synchronic

*Wilbur Marshall Urban: *Language and Reality*, 1939, p. 95.

†"*Lectures on the Study of Language*", p. 280.

and (2) Diachronic (terms used by Saussure). Synchronic semantics is that which is applicable to all ages and places. (The term comes from Greek "syn", together, and "chronos", times). There are certain phenomena of Semantics which are universal, whatever the time or place may be. Such problems as the rise and death of words, their meaningfulness, the nature of meaning, the relation between word and meaning, synonymy, multiplicity of meaning, etc., are common to all languages, dead or living, and belong to all linguistic families.

Other phenomena, which are subject to change, are called diachronic from Greek "dia", through, and "chronos", times. The historical side of semantic problems, the changeability of meaning, and the national peculiarities of usage, idiom, syntax and style may be placed under this head.

These, then, are the various problems that Semantics is called upon to deal with.

2. Importance of Semantics.

If properly applied, Semantics can unfold a vast amount of material for historical research. The evolution of meaning, the distinction of words, the richness of expression, the trend of semantic change, the usage and the style of a language, all show the various aspects of the culture of its speakers. "Language", says A. H. Sayce, "is the reflection of the thoughts and beliefs of communities from their earliest days, and, by tracing its changes and its fortunes, by tracing the origin and history of words and their meanings, we can read those thoughts and beliefs with greater certainty and minuteness than had they been traced by the pen of the historian." Semantics contains a vast material for historical and pre-historical study.*

When we consider that almost all the words of every language have meanings belonging to them alone, and that the corresponding

*In this connection see how W. Brandenstein applies the principles of Semantics to fix up two stages in the evolution of the primitive Indo-European Speech. A resume of his work has been given in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, 1937, by A. B. Keith.

words in other dialects reputed to be their representatives scarcely ever express the precise meaning of their correlatives, we can in some measure estimate the extent to which our thought is nationalized by our tongue. Nations are not wholly unlike in their thoughts, but the signs, by which they express these thoughts, (i.e., words) frequently have different shades. The elemental thoughts and ideas are the same, but the expressions may be different. It need not be said that only those thoughts are embodied in a single word which occur often enough, and are crystallised into uniformity to recommend this short mode of presenting them. Some thoughts are more important to one nation than to another. All languages have a word for 'father', but few distinguish between 'aunts' and 'uncles'. Some languages have two words for two shades of the same idea, while some have but one. The Semantics of a language shows the linguistic, mental and cultural milieu of its speakers.

Bhartrhari says that all objects of thought lie inherent in Shabdas (words) in a subtle form.* An exact analysis of the signification of words would make us better acquainted than anything else with the operations of the human mind. Semantics is an important branch of logic and psychology. That language is a mirror of man has long been recognized by philosophers, psychologists and philologists. There is no other branch of Linguistics which can show this.

The purpose of language, said Patanjali, is meaning, for, he says a man speaks to another with a view to communicate his ideas. The communication of ideas is based on understanding which, in turn, is based on the convertional acceptance of meaning. Semantics is, therefore, the most inclusive aspect of language.

In ancient times, Semantics was considered an important item of grammar. Patanjali refers to the ancient custom by which a long and intensive study of Grammar, including Semantics, preceded the study of the Vedas. Yaska frankly admits that the study of the Nirukta (Etymology and Semantics) derives its importance from the fact that the meanings of the Vedic texts are not otherwise comprehensible.† It was undoubtedly to preserve the Vedic texts

*sarvá apyarthajátayah sukṣmarúpeṇa shabdádhiṣṭhánáh (Vákyapadiya under Kar. I. 119).

†athápidamantareṇa mantreṣvarthapratyayo na vidyate (Mahábhášya I, p. 6).

intact and to save them from misinterpretation that particular attention was directed by ancient Niruktácháryas and grammarians towards this subject. It was considered as a means to the attainment of religious merit.

Semantics, as the historical science of meaning, is also useful to Lexicography, Grammar, Phonology, Poetics and Stylistics. A word contains a notion and presents a relation of this notion to other notions. Semantics explains the historical relation of the various meanings or notions of a word, and a dictionary records them frequently in a pell-mell order, but a historical lexicon based on scientific methods should do so in strict historical sequence. Lexicography, in its ideal form, cannot develop without the development of semantic studies.* Lexicography cannot always depend on etymology, which merely tells how meanings begin. Words incline to diverge from their radical meaning, and the history of their later developments is the subject of Semantics. A word may be brought, by a long or short series of intermediaries, to mean almost the opposite of what it at first signified. Then there are homonyms which cannot be explained derivatively without a consideration of their meanings. Further, etymology does not impose gradation of meanings of words.

Semantics alone will explain the differentiated usage of dúdh and khír, namaste and praṇám, bhakti and príti, bíṭh and viṣṭhá or bhoj and bhojan. Yaska has expressly stated that the science of etymology, though it has its independent character as well, may be viewed as a complement to Grammar (i.e., the semantic side of grammar). With regard to the distinction of synonyms, Semantics can guide tremendously. Lexicons of the day give a number of synonymous words in one article without differentiating the shades of meanings in them.

We have also noted how Semantics and Grammar are interrelated. The term Vyákaraṇ (or Grammar), meaning as it does the Science which dissolves words into elements (stems and suffixes) and thereby brings out their exact meanings, is in itself an indication that grammar, etymology and semantics are intimately connected. The ancient term, denoting a grammarian, seems to have

*bráhmaṇena niṣkáraṇo dharmmah ṣaḍaṅgo vedo adhyeyo jñeyashca, etc. M. B. I, p. 6.

been vágyogavit i.e., one who knows the connection and usage of words. The word 'Shabda-Shástra', for grammar, clearly suggests how closely Semantics and Grammar are related. Shankara explains that grammar, by division of words, enables us to comprehend their meaning, and in modern times, Jespersen in the 'Philosophy of Grammar' believes that for a clear understanding of Grammar a psychological study of language is most essential. Bhartrhari extols highly the importance of grammar, and boldly asserts that it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of words without an adequate knowledge of grammar.* Semantics, for the matter of that, is still more important, as it takes up the meaning of words and sentences as the direct subject of its study, and it includes grammatical sematology, too.

Grammar explains what is a correct sentence. But Semantics tells us the full significance of a sentence, with all its implications.† There are, in every language, idioms and phrases which are grammatically incorrect but semantically most expressive. A study of meaning will revise not a few of our grammatical notions, and in no department of linguistics, perhaps, is this revision more needed.

As to the relationship between Semantics and Phonology, a phonologist has to take into consideration the meanings of words under his investigation. He must not judge from appearances only. Similarly a Semantician has to look to phonetic change for a right comprehension of meaning-change. Words should be investigated phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, etymologically and semantically. The conclusions of all the five separate investigations must be in harmony if the result is to be deemed scientifically exact. Even if four agree and only one is irreconcilable with the rest, the whole problem has to be reconsidered or abandoned. A knowledge of Semantics is, therefore, not only useful but imperative for all branches of linguistics.

Semantics has also helped Poetics. It is the sound and the meaning (says Mammaṭa) that go to constitute poetry. The body of poetry, to use the language of the 'Ekávali', is composed of two elements: Sound and Meaning. Semantics, with its exhaustive study of suggestions can throw a flood of explanatory light on the

*tattvávabodhah shabdánám násti vyákaraṇádrte, (Vákya. I, 13).
†*Vide the Chapters on "Sematology of Grammar" and "Syntactical Meaning".*

delicate shades of meaning which poetical words have come to acquire in various contexts; how metaphor evolves and how various figures of speech are differentiated. There is still room for a scientific classification of the causes and incidence of figures, and this will be possible through a progressive study of words, phrases and idioms from a semantic point of view.

Semantics has its practical importance, too. Commenting upon the verbalism of 'fascism' and 'communism', Chase in his "Tyranny of words" (p. 13-14) says—"To say that it is a battle of words alone is contrary to the facts, for there are important differences between the so-called fascist and communist states. But the words themselves and the dialectic, which accompanies them, have kindled emotional fires which far transcend the differences in fact. Abstract terms are personified to become burning, fighting realities. Yet if the knowledge of Semantics were general, and men were on guard for communication failure, the conflagration could hardly start. There would be honest differences of opinion, there might be a sharp political struggle, but not this windy clash of rival metaphysical notions".

Mr. Ogden ('Meaning of Meaning') says, "Misunderstanding is the chief underlying cause of war". Certainly the misunderstanding of an important word or phrase, though not the chief, may be a contributory cause of war. The study of Semantics quickens our sense of the precise significance of words, and, therefore, our command over them will result in more fruitful methods of expression. We can better understand the actual use of words if we are fully conscious of their history. Without a proper understanding of the original meaning and its various developments, the writer's style loses in light and colour, and the speaker may be misunderstood.

A command of words not merely improves style, it aids reasoning. Thinking proceeds more securely the moment a hazy notion is given definite shape in the right words. It is necessary to learn the exact meanings of words in order to use them efficiently and to think logically. With the growth of semantic knowledge, there is sure to be more accuracy in discussion, legal as well as scientific, greater ease in education and more enjoyment in conversation than the customary "stones and scorpions" provide. There was a time when a strict observance of all niceties of speech was more important as an indiction of breeding than a rigorous conformity to the rules of grammar.

3. The Scope of the Present Study.

In recent years the existence and importance of the problem of meaning have been generally admitted, but by some sad chance those who have attempted a solution have too often been forced to relinquish their ambition. Semantics is the tenderest of sciences. It is a knowledge of the most appalling character—a trail high, steep and terrible. "The way is dark, the access precipitous, and the foothold very insecure". The difficult nature of the subject may be realized from the following words of Breal himself—"Again and again, repelled by the difficult nature of the subject, I have vowed never to return to the book itself. I have at last decided to publish this book which I have hitherto abandoned as often as I have begun". Scholars are afraid of being adversely criticized, as there are always divergent opinions on the etymologies, interpretations and usages of words, idioms and phrases. The region into which I have ventured to enter is almost a wilderness and there is no clear-cut way through it. Yet it cannot be denied that Semantics is one of the most interesting and useful sciences. The field is wide open, and cultivators are badly needed. I am fully conscious of my limitations, yet I have chosen to explore this field rather than not to step into it at all for fear of criticizm or even censure. To make mistakes, as we are in the search of knowledge, is far more honourable than to escape making them through never having set out in this search at all.* "The Science", said Prof. Postgate, "is as yet in its beginnings. Its prime need is the collection of facts. The student of this subject must begin with what he knows (i.e., his mother tongue or cultured tongue). The science is in no position to disdain the humblest effort of the most insignificant contribution".

This was said 75 years back. But it is much to be regretted that no Indian scholar has yet devoted himself to the investigation of this branch of Indo-Aryan Linguistics. A few papers published on the Semantics of Bengali and Marathi are too sketchy. They simply apply the observations of Breal to Indian languages and take us no further. The present work is intended to supply that great need. At first it was suggested that the subject of this treatise should be limited to some one aspect of Hindi Semantics, such as "Polysemy"

*Trench: *On the Study of Words.*

or "Synonymy". But then it was felt that a broad and comprehensive study of the science was a greater desideratum than an intensive study of some particular subject in Hindi.

The study of Semantics has to consider several aspects: What is the relationship between a word and an subject? Is that relationship eternal or otherwise? How much of it is eternal and natural and how much arbitrary and artificial? Does the word arise first and the meaning attach itself, or does the meaning necessitate a word? There are many other questions of this type which, strictly speaking, come under the "philosophy of meaning." Indian Grammarians and, particularly, Logicians have mainly concerned themselves with this aspect of Semantics.

The treatment of Semantics undertaken in the present study is linguistic rather than philosophic. It comprehends the following problems—

(1) Semantic sources, (2) Semantic categories, and (3) Semantic values.

Semantic sources may be phonetic, morphological and stylistic. It may be true philosophically that the meaning resides in the brain. But the form of meaning always refers to something outside the brain. It is the form of language that manages to convey a meaning. The sematology of sounds and sound-groups has been attempted in the first chapter of the thesis. Long lists have been given to show the semantic idealism of Hindi sounds. It will be clear from these that phonetic similarities play an important part in defining semantic similarities. Words having identical sounds do tend to express an identical idea, and Hindi shows a regular system of such a relationship between sound and meaning. The subject is old, and perhaps condemned as untenable, but the present study explains it objectively in the light of Hindi Semantics.

The first chapter, in a way, traces the origins of meanings. The analytical and synthetic aspect of meaning comes under the scope of this chapter.

The evolution of words based on sound combinations has been taken up in the second chapter which shows how meanings evolve. Meaning, as a socio-linguistic phenomenon, is a development—a gradual evolution from stage to stage. The theory of "Phonetic Semantic Modification" (P. S. M.) is a valuable contribution of this chapter to the semantic science. A detailed semantic analysis of

prefixes, suffixes and infixes, has been made. The sematological aspect of compounds, repetitions, echo-words and intensives has also been explained.

The morphological sources of semantic study are related to words, word-fragments, including their function in a sentence. Most of the works on Semantics, as, for example, those by Weekley, E. Partridge, Greenough and kittredge, have concerned themselves with words and nothing but words. No doubt, words are important units of semantic study and an analysis of words must precede an evaluation of meaning in sentences. But semantics comprises the study of the meaning of all language-forms—sounds, syllables, word-fragments, stems, derivatives, grammatical forms and syntactical compositions. The sentence is the logical unit and the really significant part of speech. The so-called grammatical parts of speech will be considered in the light of their semantic function in Chapter IX. A semantic aspect of Syntax will be discussed in Chapter X.

Stylistics includes figurative and idiomatic expressions. Though this branch of semantic sources belongs more to the aesthetic side of language, every dialect, whether literary or non-literary, has some elements which have a peculiar flavour. No scientific study of the meaning-side of Hindi usage and idiom has not yet been attempted. The present thesis draws attention (Chapter VII) to a very important subject of Hindi Semantics as this. A new evaluation of literature has been made in the chapter on the "Figurative use of Language" (VIII). Typical figures only have been taken to show how far we employ language to arouse delicate feelings and to evoke strong emotions and how far various styles tend simply to show literary jugglery without adding much to the force of meaning.

Semantic categories or variations which meanings assume are the subject of four chapters in this thesis. Polynyms and Homonyms are discussed in Chapter III and Synonymy is dealt with in Chapter IV. The causes and effects of Polysemy and Synonymy in Hindi have been studied from various angles and it has been shown how we can utilize so much reversionary wealth in Hindi. In particular, these two chapters deal with the heterogenous as well as the homogenous trends in Semantics. It has to be noted that the process of development of meaning is from homogeneity to heterogeneity.

Semantic values have been ascertained in all the chapters but more fully in Chapters IV, V and VI. The importance of Chapters

V and VI lies in their details and comprehensive views on semantic changes and their causes. In a way, change is another term for evolution. Thus, the first six chapters of the thesis define the origin and development of meanings of Hindi words. The other four chapters explain the place of meaning in contexts and define its values in current speech. The comprehensiveness of the work may be ascertained from its contents and subject-indices. It takes up the problem of meaning in all forms of linguistic expression—from the minutest sound to the most complicated sentence through sound-group, words, word-combinations, idioms, phrases, proverbs, and syntactical forms.

The object of this treatise is to sketch a provisional plan in a domain which has not yet been exploited, and demands the combined labour of several generations of philologists in Hindi. It is the first study of its kind in this language, the language which has come to occupy an important status as the *lingua franca* of India and which has been recognised as an advanced literary language.

The most important feature of the present work is to explain the genius of Hindi. But, it also offers several observations on the general science of meaning and raises a large number of questions connected with various linguistic subjects. I have rather boldly advanced a number of theories, mostly original, and used the material from Hindi language and literature for purposes of illustration. The thesis, though on a specialized and most technical subject, has been written in a style that will interest every student of Hindi language or any other Indo-Aryan language. It will be of equal use to a specialist as well as a layman.

The work defines, the scope of Semantics as distinguished from Etymology, Grammar and Rhetorics.

At places comparative examples from Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Punjabi and Lahndi have been given with a view to excite the study of similar problems in those languages. These will not only satisfy, to some extent, the comparative philologist, but also determine a programme of research in other Indo-Aryan languages than Hindi.

It will be noted that profuse examples have been given to explain a single principle or phenomenon. I regard it as an asset of the work. Most of the examples are from literary Hindi. But it must be known that standard Hindi is still in the making. Literature employs Sanskrit forms side by side with colloquial and even dialectical words.

4. Acknowledgments.

It is important to mention that I have made, as the references will show, a careful use of the scattered labours of Indian as well as foreign scholars to whom I feel greatly obliged.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Dhirendra Varma, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma and Dr. S. K. Chatterji for their valuable guidance, constant help, stimulating criticism and many acts of courtesy and kindness.

I am perfectly aware of a large number of gaps and imperfections in this work. However, I crave the indulgence of scholars to receive it in its spirit rather than in its form.

My son, Devendra, deserves many thanks for his insistence on publishing the work. He has helped me in proof-reading, too. My assistant, Kailash Nath Shukla, has prepared the word-index and shown utmost care in checking up the transliteration of Hindi words and texts.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY: HARDEV BAHRI

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

adj.	adjective	no(s).	number(s)
adv.	adverb	O.	Oriya
Apabh.	Apabhraṁsh	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
Ar.	Arabic	onom.	onomatopoeia(-ic)
Beng.	Bengali	p.	page
cf.	compare	Per.	Persian
chap.	chapter	Pkt.	Prakrit
conj.	conjunction	pl.	plural
Dan.	Danish	Port.	Portugese
e.g.	for example	pp.	pages
Eng.	English	P. S. M.	Phonetic Semantic Modification
etc.	et cetra		
fem.	feminine	Punj.	Punjabi
ff.	followings	q. u.	which see
Fr.	French	S.	Sindhi
G(er).	German	sing.	singular
Gk.	Greek	Skt.	Sanskrit
Guj.	Gujrati	Sw.	Swedish
H.	Hindi	tbh.	tadbhava (derived from Sanskrit)
i.e.	that is		
Ir.	Irish	tsm.	tatsam (as in Sanskrit)
L(ah).	Lahndí		
Lat.	Latin	Tur.	Turkish
lit.	literal(ly)	U. P.	United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh)
Mar.	Marathi		
mas(c).	masculine		
M. B.	Mahábhāṣya by Pátañjalí	v(b).	verb
		v. i.	verb intransitive
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan	v. t.	verb transitive
n.	noun	vol.	volume
NIA	New Indo-Aryan		

CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND PRONUNCIATION

Symbol used	Pronunciation	Example
a	as in 'bud'	**kal, cal**
ai	two vowels **a** + **i**	**bhaiyá**
aí	two vowels **a** + **í**	**gaí**
au	two vowels **a** + **u**	**hauá**
aú	two vowels **a** + **ú**	**gaú**
á	as in 'all'	**kál**
áí	as in 'mine'	**náí**
ā̃	as in 'sat'	**mā̃l**
áú	= **á** + **ú**	**kháú**
ã	open **o**	**kãn**
b	as in 'bat'	**bál**
bh	aspirated **b**	**bhár**
c	as in 'church'	**cál**
ch	aspirated **c**	**chat**
d	as in 'the'	**dál**
dh	aspirated **d**	**dhár**
ḍ	retroflex **ḍ**	**ḍál**
ḍh	aspirated **ḍ**	**ḍhál**
e	as in 'ate'	**mel**
f	as in 'fate' (in foreign words)	Per. **fãj** Eng. **fuṭ**
g	as in 'go'	**gálí**
gh	aspirated **g**	**ghar**
h	as in 'hat'	**ham**
i	as in 'bid'	**sir**
í	as in 'me'	**mí̃l**
j	as in 'joke'	**jal**
jh	aspirated **j**	**jhí̃l**
k	as in 'kite'	**kal, kál**
kh	aspirated **k**	**khál**
l	as in 'look'	**lábh**
m	as in 'moon'	**mel, mā̃l**
n	as in 'noon'	**náí**

ń	as in 'bench', 'sing'	**máń**
ṇ	retroflex **n** (generally in Skt. words)	**guṇ**
o	as in 'mote'	**bol**
p	as in 'pull'	**páp**
q	glottal **k** (foreign)	**haq**
qh	as in 'loch' (foreign)	**qhúb**
r	as in 'rat'	**rát**
ṛ	reftroflex **r**	**baṛá**
ṛh	aspirated **ṛ**	**búṛhá**
s	as in 'sit'	**soná**
sh	as in 'she'	**pashu**
ṣ	retroflex **sh**	**doṣ**
t	as in French 'table'	**terá**
th	aspirated **t**	**tháli**
ṭ	retroflex **t**, as in 'tree'	**ṭok'rí**
ṭh	aspirated **ṭ**	**ṭhík**
u	as in 'book'	**kul**
ú	as in 'moon'	**cúná**
v(w)	as in 'very', 'war'	**vā́rí**
x	same as **qh**	
y	as in 'yes'	**yah**
z	as in 'zebra' (foreign words)	**zor**

Note—A minute (') between two consonants means that the consonants are conjunt in pronunciation but separate in writing.

Nota bene—Skt. **jń** *as in* **jńán** *has two pronunciations in Hindi—***gyán** *and* **jńán.** *Similarly there are Sanskrit and Hindi words which have varied spelling or pronunciation. We have not tried to effect uniformity in transcription of such words, as it does not exist.*

P. S.—The system of spelling Hindi words, native as well as foreign, generally conforms to the prevalent usage in pronunciation and transcription. Traditional spelling of purely Sanskrit words has been maintained for distinction. As there are very few printer's mistakes, no erratum has been given. Such mistakes have been corrected in the Index which also serves to give alternative spelling especially with **-n-**, **-ń-**, *or* **-ṇ-**, *and with or without* **-a-** *or* **-a.**

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I

SOUND AND MEANING

Hindi Semantics

BAHRI

Hindi Semantics

by

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Dedicated

to

my most revered Guru

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma

with

affection and gratitude.